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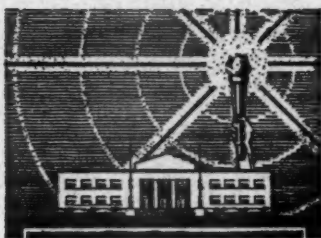
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VOLUME XLIII, NUMBER 5

MAY, 1952



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The Social Studies

VOLUME XLIII, NUMBER 5

Continuing The Historical Outlook

MAY, 1952

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As the Editor Sees it

A recent news item reported a public book-burning in a Mid-Western town. Apparently a group of citizens believed that in this symbolic method of stifling contrary opinion the safety of America lay. More frequently one hears of an attack on school textbooks by some organization of persons who rarely take any constructive interest in the schools. They usually charge that the pupils are being taught communism or socialism, and cite a few phrases wrenched from their context to prove it. Most teachers will feel that such censors have a touchingly naive faith in the thoroughness with which youngsters read their textbooks.

The whole problem of the selection of texts and the teaching of controversial questions is a thorny one, but it has been squarely faced by at least one state department of education. The policies recently adopted or re-affirmed by New Jersey are worthy examples of good public administration.

The New Jersey Board of Education says that the consideration of a controversial question has a legitimate place in the school program; it must, however, be handled in an appropriate setting by a teacher competent to deal with it. It should also be one that has meaning and importance for the students, and which is suitable for their maturity level. The Board's statement goes on to say: "Indoctrination is not the purpose; rather, the purpose is to have the student see as fully as possible all sides of the question."

Are we not, then, to try to inculcate in our pupils a belief in democracy and free enter-

prise? By all means. The New Jersey Board defines a controversial question as one where one or more of the alternative answers are strongly objected to by a [significant] portion of the citizenry. We can be safe in assuming that the vast majority of Americans do believe in democracy and free enterprise and hence the schools can properly indoctrinate for them. Certain aspects of their application, however, may be rightly considered controversial: social welfare legislation, excess profits taxes, labor policies, the handling of race tensions, economic planning and so on. The discussion of these matters should be objective. "There is no conflict between the inculcation of the principles of our American Democracy and the search for the truth." It is the duty of the school to teach pupils what democracy means, and then provide them with the fullest possible means of determining for themselves the democratic solution of any specific problem. Only those with selfish interests need fear the result, and they will seek to make the public believe that the schools are not teaching democracy and freedom at all.

It is not the business of the school to teach the American way as the N.A.M. or the A.M.A. or even the D.A.R. see it, any more than to champion the ideas of the C.I.O., the Fair-Dealers, or any other politico-economic philosophy. It is our job to teach a faith in our country as it is, and to preach the basic principles of democracy at all times because they are essential truths. Young people indoctrinated with them and given a fair opportunity to hear the arguments of any controversy, can be counted on to think straight.

The Social Studies

VOLUME XLIII, NUMBER 5

MAY, 1952

The Age of Uncertainty

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

City College of New York, New York

In the annals of modern history there has been no such fearful period of war, revolution, and depression as that since 1914. The changes that have taken place within the memory of living men have been so tremendous, so unexpected, and so bewildering as to create widespread uncertainty regarding the present and the future of mankind. Who before 1914 could have foretold that powerful, arrogant Bismarckian Germany would lie in the dust, partitioned, weak, and helpless; that holy Tsarist Russia would become the power house of world revolution; that old, ancestor-worshipping China would become the most radical state in Asia; that England, the classical land of capitalism, would turn socialist; and that isolationist America would emerge as the dominant power in world affairs?

Never before has the individual been made so secure against the exigencies of life, "from the cradle to the grave," by the solicitous care of the state. Yet never before has he lived in a period as insecure as that which began in 1914 and has continued to this day. Fear of war, revolution, and depression haunts every land. This insecurity has culminated in the extraordinary phenomenon of the cold war between the democratic and communist nations creating world-wide tensions that keep everyone on edge. No one in this Age of Uncertainty, not even Presidents and Prime Ministers, knows what tomorrow may bring forth.

Uncertainty is nothing new in the world. What, however, is new is its worldwide scope and devastating depth. It emerged as the end product of something unprecedented in history: two world wars and two world revolutions, communism and fascism, all within one genera-

tion. In retrospect it becomes clear that these great events were intimately connected; one led to the other as if by a chain reaction. What followed was the undermining of the imposing liberal structure created during the nineteenth century. And this is the great tragedy that now confronts mankind.

This liberal structure had guaranteed certain basic securities, and thereby served as a directing force toward the creation of certainties in life on which all could depend. Despite many wars and revolutions a fundamental stability in the life of nations had emerged in Europe during the period, 1815-1914. And the whole world then pivoted around Europe. Nearly all of Africa and of Asia were colonies of European states. The United States was in isolation, and therefore a law unto itself. Latin America was then not very important. Hence an analysis of trends in Europe is basic to the understanding of world affairs.

Stability in Europe depended on the universal acceptance of certain principles which generally guided the conduct of governments. One of these principles was that of nationality, which postulated that a nation's life was inviolable. Even when badly defeated in war the nation, as a nation, was safe, no matter how much territory it lost and how much indemnity it was compelled to pay. A striking example was France after its crushing defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. The harsh treaty imposed by Bismarck forced the defeated nation to pay heavily in territory and in money, but France survived as a nation and even rose again to be a great power. What gave the certainty of national survival was the Balance of Power, a doctrine that asserted that if a great power attempted

to dominate the Continent by attacking its neighbors the other states would combine to defeat it. An equilibrium of power among the European states was to guarantee peace. The Balance of Power succeeded, not in preserving peace, but in preserving from destruction all the existing European nations. During the period, 1815-1914 not a single independent European nation went out of existence as a result of defeat in war.

What made for internal security and stability in the life of a nation during the nineteenth century was democracy. Despite many shifts of power within a nation, from left to right and vice versa, from party to party, from class to class, the government, as a government, was safe, because the principle of majority rule was generally accepted. And the citizen too was safe in his essential rights, protected by constitutional guarantees of civil liberties. However uncertain the outcome of a hotly fought election the citizen had a feeling of certainty that his rights and liberties were secure. A majority government was not omnipotent even in matters within its power. Rarely did it dare flout public opinion by passing unpopular measures lest it find itself a minority in the next election. And the next election always came.

There existed then in the economic, as in the political, field an element of security. This was created by capitalism. Nothing appeared to be less stable than the system of private enterprise, with its fierce competition and its recurring depressions. However, stability was secured by the guarantee of property rights. As long as property rights were respected the ups and downs of capitalism constituted no danger to the social order. Those who failed in business made way for those who succeeded. The "magic of property" was sufficiently powerful to give confidence to new enterprisers, eager to make their pile. Not infrequently did a more productive, a more efficient industrial organization emerge from the havoc caused by a depression. And the resulting increase in production and decrease in cost guaranteed the survival of the capitalist system.

All these securities were undermined during the period following 1914, bringing on the Age of Uncertainty. The two World Wars disrupted

the Great Power system, according to which the direction of international affairs was in the hands of the major powers, which held each other in check, thereby maintaining the Balance of Power. Of the six great powers in 1914 Austria-Hungary and the German Empire are no more; Italy is half dead; France is half alive; Britain is too weak to exert itself as a great power; but Russia has become a super-power, swollen in might beyond the dreams of the most ambitious tsars.

With the collapse of the Great Power system went the Balance of Power. Having lost this historic protection the nation, as a nation, was now in dire peril. What added to its insecurity was the advent of the totalitarian dictatorships. Both Communist Russia and Nazi Germany, bent on world conquest, flatly repudiated the principle of nationality. The former proclaimed class, and the latter, race to be the basic organization of mankind. Defeat at the hands of either power meant national extinction or a shadow existence as a satellite, completely subservient to the master state. During Hitler's short career of conquest, 16 nations disappeared from the European scene. After the defeat of Nazi Germany they regained their independence, but only to face a new threat of extinction at the hands of Communist Russia. Since 1945 nine European nations have lost their independence as a result of Communist activity. The three Baltic states were incorporated within the Soviet Union, and the other six became satellites of Soviet Russia. Fear of swift and sudden death now haunts almost every nation outside the Iron Curtain.

The securities established by democracy were completely eliminated wherever communism or fascism triumphed. By adding totalitarianism to despotism an authoritarian regime was created far more autocratic than that of the absolute monarchs of the past. The total life of a citizen, private as well as public, his thoughts, his activities, his movements, all were subject to government control and direction. The government determined how many shoes should be manufactured, what kind of music should be composed, what biologists should think concerning heredity, and what fairy tales should be told to children. Totalitarian dictatorship was something that Louis XIV.

supreme example of absolute monarchy by divine right, never even thought of. Civil liberties disappeared over night, and the individual was deprived of his long cherished protection against the despotic power of the state.

From time immemorial the one security that the individual had enjoyed under all forms of government in the past was that of property, provided he had any. Democracy if anything strengthened this security by making property a natural right, hence beyond the reach even of government itself. This most ancient of securities ceased to exist under totalitarianism. The confiscation of property by Communist Russia was on such a vast scale that even the great confiscations of the French Revolution seem small by comparison. All landed estates and all productive property in commerce and industry were confiscated at one blow by the Bolsheviks when they seized power. Fascism, like communism, was no respecter of property rights. When they came into power in Germany the Nazis confiscated virtually all Jewish-owned property. During the Second World War the property of Jews was made subject to confiscation in all the occupied countries. After the Second World War confiscations of property continued on a large scale in the communist satellites of Soviet Russia. Fatherland, liberty, and property were doomed under this unprecedented despotism of the twentieth century.

Uncertainty has mounted on uncertainty in the world of today. The disappearance of the securities gained under nationalism, democracy, and property in one half of the world has created a feeling of insecurity in the other half. This feeling of insecurity has been intensified by the appearance of Communist parties within nations not under the domination of Soviet Russia. Recent elections in France and in Italy revealed that about one-quarter of the electorate in the former, and about one-third, in the latter, voted for the Communist party. Evidently millions beyond the reach of Soviet terrorism have become ardent supporters of communism. What can be the explanation of the hold that this most complete and most ruthless of tyrannies has on so many minds, even on those of highly educated, thoughtful men and women?

The fundamental explanation lies in the col-

lapse of the liberal values which had become the moral mainstay of Western man. Central in the pattern of liberalism was the idea of progress, according to which man and his world were becoming "better and better every day in every way," to use a popular expression. Progress was considered to be a natural tendency operating in human relations, being linear, universal, and inevitable. A better tomorrow was the one abiding faith of nineteenth-century liberals, which induced in them an attitude of optimistic confidence in the future of the race. Today Russia was an absolute monarchy, tomorrow it would enjoy constitutional liberties. Today Spain was largely an illiterate nation, tomorrow it would have schools for all. Today the middle class enjoyed economic security, tomorrow the working class would also enjoy it. Today the wealthy had opportunities for higher education, tomorrow the poor would also have them. And in so many instances tomorrow actually came. During the period, 1815-1914 liberalism scored notable triumphs in every Western land and became the hope of backward peoples throughout the world. Hardly a book was then written dealing with public affairs that did not sound the keynote of progress.

Then came the two World Wars and the great depression between them. Never before in modern times had there been so great a destruction of life and property as in these wars, which involved not only the armed forces but entire populations. At the end of the Second World War Europe was a heap of rubble above ground and a cemetery below. The bomb that fell from the skies was no respecter of persons. In the conduct of military operations man's inhumanity to man reached a new low. The outrages committed by the Germans and the Japanese against prisoners of war and against the civil population would have shocked the ancient Assyrians. A new name "genocide" had to be invented to describe the wholesale massacres committed by the Germans against the Jews. The great depression plunged millions into the very depths of economic ruin. It lasted longer, was more widespread, and affected more people in all walks of life than had any previous depression. To many it seemed that the end of the capitalist system had now arrived.

Faith in the idea of progress was the great intellectual casualty of these upheavals. There began a widespread disbelief, even repudiation, of this liberal idea which now appeared to mock reality. It took hardihood, even effrontery, to speak of progress in a world in which one great disaster was soon followed by an even greater one, and one act of inhumanity, by one more inhumane. The revolt against the idea of progress found literary expression in two famous books: Oswald Spengler's "Decline of the West," which appeared after the First World War, and Arnold Toynbee's "A Study of History" which appeared, in its abridged form, after the Second World War. Spengler repudiated the idea of progress altogether and revived the ancient theory of "cycles." According to this theory a civilization goes through an inevitable process: golden age, decline, and death. This cycle is then renewed, and keeps on being renewed for all eternity. Spengler was convinced that Western civilization was doomed to perish as had the great civilizations of the past. Toynbee was not so pessimistic. He explained the rise and fall of past civilizations but held out hope of survival of Western civilization because it was based on Christianity. He warned that unless it foreswore materialism and followed the divine guidance of Christ it too was doomed to perish. Christ alone, according to Toynbee, can save Western civilization from destruction as He alone can save mankind from damnation. Neither Spengler nor Toynbee believed, in continuously unfolding, inevitable progress, the vision of nineteenth-century liberalism. Despite the fact that both books were scholarly and far from easy reading they became best sellers. The climate of opinion was only too responsive, and many eagerly sought an explanation for the collapse of their moral world.

Rationalism, another liberal idea, became, like the idea of progress, an intellectual casualty in the Age of Uncertainty. Nineteenth-century liberals firmly believed that man was by nature a rational being and was motivated by a spirit of good will toward his fellows. The evils of the world came chiefly from a bad environment, created by a society founded on injustice, prejudice, and oppression. They were convinced that appeals to man's reason and to his innate

goodness would receive a favorable response. Hence they devoted themselves to the creation of the "good society" by spreading education and enlightenment.

The heritage of rationalism was repudiated by the totalitarian revolutionists of the twentieth century. Both communists and fascists regarded the average man as a weak, irrational, fearful creature, foolish and childish at best, and stupid and brutal at worst. Being such he could be easily cajoled and controlled through propaganda and terrorism by a determined, self-chosen elite in control of the government. They appealed not to reason but to prejudice, racial or class; they utilized not argument but incitement to violence; and they sought not spontaneous loyalty but blind obedience to the party leader. The fascists openly voiced their contempt of the average man. "By clever persistent propaganda," declared Hitler, "even heaven can be represented as hell and the most wretched life as paradise." The communists had the same contempt for the average man but were too clever to say so. This contempt became evident in the "party line." Today it may be the opposite of that of yesterday, and that of tomorrow the opposite of that of today, but whatever it is, it is always "right." And the faithful are expected to follow the party line wherever it leads. This was strikingly illustrated in the well-known shift of the Communist party line during the Second World War. At first the Communists, conformable to the Hitler-Stalin pact, denounced the war as an affront to fascism. Appeals to the irrational in man imperialist struggle between rival capitalist states. But when Hitler suddenly attacked Soviet Russia the Communists just as suddenly proclaimed the war a crusade to save democracy becomes a necessity to a totalitarian regime. By propaganda and terrorism the masses must at all times be made to believe that their rulers can never err in whatever policy they choose to pursue.

The cult of irrationality was not confined to communism and fascism. It found another expression in psycho-analysis, which became widely accepted in the Age of Uncertainty. Fundamental in Freudian psychology is the concept of the "unconscious," which exists in every individual from infancy, and even before.

Unknown to the individual his unconscious determines his desires, hopes, loves, hates, fears, and ambitions. What an individual's consciousness, or reasoning faculty does is merely to "rationalize" the secret promptings of his unconscious. According to psycho-analysis man is fundamentally an irrational creature; therefore reason is no sure guide to the solution of problems. Only a small part of his life is capable of being consciously guided by reason. Irrationality had of course always been known. Hitherto, its cause was said to be a lack of knowledge and understanding, which could be corrected by proper education. Psycho-analysis, however, proclaimed irrationality an integral and permanent part of man's psyche, hence the solutions of his problems must be sought in methods other than the appeal to reason. Nostalgia for the vanished world of the nineteenth century may be the explanation of the present revival of Henry James. His novels depict with great accuracy and consummate art the pre-eminence of enduring moral values in the stable society of the period.

How did we get that way? Whence came this revolt against the liberal values so long and so highly cherished in the Western world? Communism and fascism seemed to appear suddenly as out of the void, scoring triumph after triumph. At one time nearly all of Europe was dominated by one or the other. World revolutions, which communism and fascism really were, are not improvised, but are the resultant of forces long in preparation. In history, as in nature, something never comes out of nothing. A search for the origins of totalitarianism involves a restudy of the history of Europe during the nineteenth century and a reappraisal of the forces and the conflicts that took place during that period.

The liberal historians, prior to 1914 wrote of whatever country in whatever period in terms of progressive evolution. Even the destruction of the Roman Empire by the Barbarian Invasions was treated by them as a step of progress, in that the German tribes were, in their view, destined to create a new civilization. Especially did the liberal historians sound the keynote of progress, long and loud, when they wrote of nineteenth-century Europe. True, reaction sometimes triumphed, but not for long.

Inevitably the forward march of mankind would be resumed to that "far off, divine event toward which all creation moves." Was not the reactionary Restoration in Europe after 1815 followed by the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848? The dictatorial regime of Napoleon III, by the democratic Third French Republic? The Conservative ascendancy in Britain during the decade, 1895-1905, by a resounding Liberal victory? Progress was the law of history, hence it might be delayed but not permanently thwarted. This was the faith of the liberal historian.

What became of the reactionaries? It was assumed that they tacitly accepted their defeat or were converted to liberalism in the next generation. This assumption held good only in England, not on the Continent. After the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832 Sir Robert Peel, leader of the defeated Tories, openly and frankly accepted this great liberal reform. And all during the nineteenth century whenever the Conservatives were in power they never repealed important reforms enacted by their opponents. In fact they become rivals of the Liberals in advocating progressive measures. It was the Conservatives who enacted the Factory Acts, enfranchised the workers, and aided in the emancipation of the trade unions. This English tradition holds good today. Recently, the Conservatives pledged themselves to keep on the statute books nearly all of the social and economic reforms enacted by the Labor Government. England was a shining example of peaceful, continuous progress, and the liberal historian sought to explain events elsewhere as conforming to a similar pattern.

But quite different was the story on the Continent. All during the nineteenth century, the reactionaries in France uncompromisingly refused to accept whatever liberal regime was established. And they counted among them powerful elements in the nation, the church, the army, the aristocracy, wealthy capitalists, and not a few distinguished intellectuals. The great outburst of reaction during the Dreyfus Affair revealed the deep-seated, bitter hostility of these elements to the democratic Republic. The Bismarckian regime in the German Empire, despite some liberal features, was essentially a reactionary one. It was set up by Bismarck with the express purpose of prevent-

ing the establishment of democracy. In the last analysis the regime was controlled by the aristocrats and industrialists, whose hold on the government was never relaxed throughout the entire life of the Empire. Equally powerful were the reactionary elements in the Hapsburg monarchy who flouted its semi-liberal regime whenever it suited their interests. In Italy the liberal parliamentary government was viewed with cynical contempt by the conservative elements as the prime source of national corruption and inefficiency.

Wherever a liberal regime was established on the Continent the reactionary elements lurked in the background awaiting their opportunity to destroy it. How and when would this opportunity come? The triumph of liberalism had come as a result of the combination of the middle and working classes, who had risen in revolt against royal absolutism and aristocratic privilege. What if this combination were to be broken up by a conflict between the two classes over the issue of socialism? Then the middle class, fearful of losing their property, would side with the reactionaries thereby putting the latter in the saddle. From revolutionary France came the idea of a possible break between these two classes. It actually occurred in the "June Days" of 1848 when the Paris workers revolted against the Second Republic. What followed was the destruction of the Republic and the establishment of the dictatorial Second Empire of Napoleon III supported by the middle class and the reactionaries, both fearful of the "dictatorship of the proletariat." A similar situation arose a generation later in the Paris Commune of 1871 when the workers revolted against the incipient Third Republic. Again they were suppressed and by the same combination of middle class and reactionaries. This time, fortunately, the Republic was preserved, but not without the greatest difficulty. With these precedents in mind the reactionaries awaited their next opportunity.

It came with the Russian Revolution of 1917. When the Communists came into power they actually established the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Furthermore they dedicated themselves to the destruction of capitalism everywhere. Fear of expropriation reverberated

throughout the middle class world when Communist parties appeared in every land. The democratic governments on the Continent seemed too weak and too cowardly to stem the Communist onset. Suddenly a new movement appeared, fascism, which showed itself willing and able to fight the Communists. The middle class, long the backbone of liberalism, now joined hands with the reactionaries in support of the fascists. The result—collapse of democratic regimes and the establishment of fascist dictatorships. After a century of watchful waiting the reactionaries on the Continent scored a signal triumph.

Another great error of the liberal historians was their misreading of the socialist movement. Though rarely sympathetic with its aims they treated socialism, if they treated it at all, as a progressive movement that wholeheartedly accepted the democratic methods of majority rule and civil liberties. Socialist parties differed from other democratic parties, it was generally believed, chiefly in their efforts to apply the principle of equality to matters economic. If socialism were to come it would come gradually and constitutionally, hence it excited little apprehension.

Again this was true of England only. The Labor party, committed to socialism, has ever and always been a stout defender of democratic liberties. It is Fabian in method, non-Marxist in theory, and constitutional in practice. A "revolution by consent" was to establish socialism gradually and by parliamentary means, with full consideration for the rights of persons and of property. The Labor party is of the committee room, not of the barricade, hence it opposes violence, dictatorship, and confiscation. When it nationalizes an industry, full—sometimes over-full—compensation is paid to the owners. Historically the Labor party is the successor of the Liberal party, as the latter was the successor of the Whig party. It is therefore an intimate and integral part of the English way of political life, and dedicated to its preservation, not to its destruction.

On the Continent, however, socialism took an entirely different course. As the liberal historians failed to estimate the real power of the reactionaries, so they failed to understand the real drive of Continental socialism. Unlike

that in England socialism on the Continent was dominated by Marxist ideology, which preached class war, world revolution, and the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Marxism was the very negation of liberalism and had scant respect for democratic methods. Outstanding liberals like Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill became targets for Marx's severest criticism and ridicule. An internal contradiction arose within the socialist movement when Social Democratic parties made their appearance. Though Marxist in theory these socialist parties were organized as parliamentary groups committed to constitutional methods. But the spirit of Marx denied any compromise with revolutionary action. As a consequence splits were constantly taking place within the ranks of the Social Democrats, all on the issue of Marxist tactics. Syndicalism, a rival of socialism for working class support, became a powerful movement in France, Italy, and Spain. It proclaimed a policy of open and uncompromising class war, the very core of Marxism, in opposition to the political methods of parliamentary socialism. All this took place prior to 1914, yet it now seems plain that were a Marxist party to get control of a great state the Continental socialist movement would soon gravitate toward it.

Precisely this took place when the Communists, all one hundred per cent Marxists, came into power in Russia. There now existed a powerful Marxist state to which socialists could look for leadership and support. What followed was no surprise. Rifts took place within the Socialist parties, and millions of workers went over *en masse* to the Communists. Nowhere has this shift been more striking than in France and in Italy, where the once powerful Socialist parties have been withering away. In their places are now Communist parties, supported by immense numbers of voters, who boast of being the only representatives of the working class. Revolutionary, not constitutional, socialism gained a signal triumph on the Continent.

The reactionary and revolutionary forces that have played so fateful a part in the Age of Uncertainty did not develop in a vacuum. During the twentieth century great changes were taking place in the life of the world that

created serious problems in every land. The new Industrial Revolution brought about the consolidation of capital and of labor, and exacerbated the conflict between them. A militant spirit of nationalism arose among subject peoples who were now determined to free themselves by any and all means. Imperialism, discredited in the nineteenth century, experienced a great revival, and rival colonial empires clashed in many parts of the world. However grave these problems, they were not beyond the power of democracy to solve them by peaceful means, as the example of England fully attests. On the Continent where the traditions of democracy were weak, peaceful methods were precluded by the intransigent attitude of the reactionaries and revolutionaries. Their power and influence grew as the problems became more insistent and more grave.

All the uncertainties of the twentieth century have now culminated in the world menace of Soviet Russia. With *Das Kapital* in one hand and the sword in the other it is driven on by a spirit of political fanaticism to convert the world to communism. Never will Soviet Russia give up totalitarian dictatorship, without which it would cease to exist. Never will it give up world revolution, without which it would have no reason for existence. Soviet Russia is always poised for attack, but no one knows where, when, or how the blow will fall. All efforts on the part of democracies to come to an understanding with the Kremlin regarding the problems in various parts of the world have proved fruitless. Communism seeks to create problems, not to solve them.

What has thus far prevented Soviet Russia from launching the dreaded third world war? Fear of America, and only of America. The emergence from isolation of the great trans-Atlantic democracy was an event of world significance. Like a knight in shining armor America suddenly appeared as the champion of democracy everywhere. This new role would have astonished Calvin Coolidge no less than George Washington. And Coolidge is only a generation in the past. For the first time in all its history America has a military alliance, in the North Atlantic pact, with European nations in time of peace; has stationed armies in Europe indefinitely; has sent fleets to guard

the Mediterranean; and, most surprising of all, has adopted conscription in time of peace. Isolationism is a thing of the past, and the few remaining isolationists are merely voices moaning in an abandoned wilderness. No longer does America wait for *Lusitanias* to be sunk or for Pearl Harbors to be attacked. Soon it will be fully armed and prepared to meet any emergency by creating "situations of strength" on all continents. To nations menaced by Soviet aggression America appears as the protecting shadow of a great rock of power in a fearful, distracted world. Promptly and willingly has it given immense aid not only to friends and allies, but also to the former enemies, Germany and Japan. In the long run it may well be to America's interest to give so generously of her substance.

In this Age of Uncertainty there is one certainty, the will and power of America to stay the hand of the Kremlin. This was dramatically shown in the Korean crisis. Future historians may record June 27, 1950 as the "finest hour" in the long struggle to establish world peace. On that day the United Nations, almost moribund as a result of Russian vetoes, was suddenly galvanized into life. It passed the now famous resolution calling upon all its members to give military aid to South Korea in defending itself against aggression by North Korea, aided and abetted by Soviet Russia. This resolution would have become another "scrap of paper" had it not been for President Truman's decision to put all of America's military power in back of it, a decision which may well earn for him an enduring place in world history. The boldness, the determination, and the readiness of America to resist aggression resulted in the rapid creation of a United Nations' army of which the American forces constituted the backbone. An international force, under the authority and direction of a world organization was fighting an aggressor nation. Never before had such an event taken place. The shade of Woodrow Wilson won a victory denied to him on earth.

The great issue of world peace is now met in an obscure corner of Asia, Korea. Should the Communists experience a decisive defeat it will have at least one result, a universal conviction that a future aggressor will be con-

fronted by an even more determined United Nations and by an even more powerful America. The principle of collective security will have won its first definite victory. The ways of Communists are often inscrutable but it is a fair surmise that Soviet Russia will not risk a world war as long as Stalin is alive. Unlike Hitler, Stalin is cool, shrewd, and old, therefore not the man to take a gambler's chance to win everything at one throw. He prefers the safer method of world revolution on the installment plan, whereby the local Communists seize power in one country after another, a method thus far that has proved highly successful. When Stalin passes away his successor, if he has any, may be bolder and younger, and feel the urge to launch a third world war. By then the non-Communist nations, if they persist in their present course, will have consolidated and become immensely strong. And the growing discontent of the satellite nations may cause divisions among the Communists.

Perhaps Stalin, like all the other European dictators in modern times, will have no successor. Then the "monolithic" party-state, so cunningly and so ruthlessly constructed, may be torn asunder in the welter of internecine strife caused by would-be dictators, each ambitious to succeed Stalin. Consolidation of Western power, disaffection in the satellite states, and civil war in Russia may result in the foundering of the Soviet dictatorship. With the passing of the world menace of Soviet Russia will pass the Age of Uncertainty, and a new period of history will begin with a powerful world organization, the United Nations, to guarantee peace among nations. What is now needed most is time, patience, and armament.

FROM THE BOUND FILES

"Problems of democracy courses have not been altogether satisfactory, however, because the average community wants its pupils to deal with the problems of other cities and to get their examples of defective social policies from places not too near the home town."—Ronald V. Sires (*The Social Studies*, Feb., 1935)

The Two-Party System— Nineteenth Century Views

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The ideological and operational nature of our two-party system has piqued the curiosity of students of government for more than a half century, and has elicited a considerable body of literature.¹ This paper does not undertake to examine the present and potential efficiency of that system but to scrutinize its emergence and growth as a subject meriting study in American schools and universities.

The activation of the principles fundamentally associated with bi-party politics² has produced a singular, and for more than one hundred years, integral institution of American government. Of the many functions performed by the individual party—the unifying, the moderating, the governing, etc.—none can eclipse the contribution of the two-party system in preserving our democracy and constitutionalism. The competition of responsible and respected parties incorporates the essence of majority rule and minority rights. The participation in national affairs of a competent opposition party is a cornerstone of constitutionalism, defined by Professor Friedrich as effective and regularized restraint upon governmental action.

These facts were not uniformly and widely comprehended in our early history. A knowledge of the machinery and techniques of bi-party rivalry, foreshadowed by Jefferson and others in the Federalist period, was a demonstrated part of the political equipment of statesmen and party leaders in the 1840's. The two-party system was institutionalized and projected into the inner mechanism of government during this same period.³ But the average citizen was not apprised of the implications of that system. When and how were the activities of parties related to the governmental complex as a whole and a general appreciation of the system achieved? One approach in searching for an answer to this question is to examine possible sources from which the citizen of the

nineteenth century might acquire a knowledge concerning government. It may be assumed that the classroom and the text-book were among the first sources of political information to which the future voter was subjected.

We may not assume, because of our long familiarity with political parties that students of the nineteenth century were similarly exposed to a knowledge of that institution. The investigative scholar who could desert his classical studies long enough to make the literary acquaintance of Jefferson, Fisher Ames, Madison, Calhoun and other statesmen could acquire some comprehension of the theoretical bases of our party system. A subscription to *Niles Weekly Register* in the early part of the century or to many newspapers and periodicals especially following the Civil War would place at the disposal of the general reader a wealth of information describing the intricate machinery of politics as conducted by the parties. All this was, however, strictly extra-curricular, beyond the pale of the classroom and text-book.

This omission may be partially explained by the fact that the study of government as a separate and distinct discipline is comparatively new. The general consideration of so recent a development as American institutions had to be justified by the nineteenth century educational system before a particular species of institution such as the party merited attention. Consequently, an investigation into the study of party requires an examination of texts in History, Civil Government, Civics and the Constitution.⁴ What was the student of the nineteenth century able to learn, from the literature specifically written or selected for his use, of political parties?

There is little evidence to indicate that the lower schools or indeed the universities of the early nineteenth century instructed their students in the general subject of practical

politics.⁵ In the 1830's, however, an upsurge of interest in political history was manifested and from this time forward, the number of text-books examining at least the structural aspects of government increased. The unorthodox tactics of the new Democratic party provided the initial jolt. Secondly, the omnipresent slavery question and its consequences for the Union forced an analysis of the nature of federalism. The frequency of secessionist threats aroused doubts in men's minds: were the Constitution and the political foundation of the nation as steadfast and secure as Americans had assumed them to be?

Disturbance of accepted values and patterns of political behavior occasioned a widespread study of the Constitution. Pre-Civil war text authors were primarily concerned with establishing the infallibility of the charter of government. As far as one can judge from the texts preferred by teachers of Social Studies, an adequate understanding of government was to be acquired simply by a thorough study of the Constitution. The pre-war era of political education may be designated as the Constitutional Period. Following the conflict, teaching and text-writing on government remained fairly static. In the 1880's, a renewed interest and a greater diversity of subject matter emerged. By the close of the century, Professor Lowell had inaugurated the study of political parties at Harvard, and Jesse Macy and Henry J. Ford were preparing significant texts on the same subject.⁶

ANALYSES OF THE CONSTITUTION

The method most commonly adopted by authors of early books on government was a citation of constitutional clauses followed by a compendious or exhaustive discussion of their meaning.⁷ Although some of the pre-war works defended the central government against State rights claims,⁸ the obvious intent of most authors was a general exposition of the Constitution. A few texts incorporated a broader analysis of governmental principles and problems.⁹ The pre-war period of political text-writing was predominantly but not exclusively restricted to clause-by-clause constitutional commentaries which did not investigate the subject of parties.

OBSERVATIONS ON PARTIES IN GENERAL TEXTS

One of the earliest general studies of govern-

ment which recognized the importance of political parties was Samuel G. Goodrich's *The Young American* (1842).¹⁰ "Political parties," remarked the author, "have existed in all free governments. They spring from the different views which persons take of great questions affecting the public interest."¹¹ Goodrich did not focus upon a two-party system, but did discuss party conflicts in the context of Federalists and Republicans, Whigs and Democrats.¹²

It was not until after the Civil War that the institution of party was subjected to more exact scrutiny by text writers. William O. Bateman in his *Political and Constitutional Law of the United States of America* (1876) noted that these organizations were "essential to the permanence of our political system. I mean those two great parties . . . the champions of UNION on one hand, and of LIBERTY on the other."¹³ Bateman telescoped the party theory expounded at length by John Adams, Jefferson and Madison, that opposing political organizations arose from a basic divergence in human nature.

A work more completely dependent than the earlier texts upon party activities for its subject matter was Alexander Johnston's *History of American Politics* (1879). Johnston dated the origin of American parties in the period of the second Congress, and found the chief difference between the parties a question of loose versus strict construction of the Constitution. Johnston alluded to administration and opposition party policies but did not advance to the concept of the two-party system.¹⁴

A much clearer insight into the nature of bi-party politics was contributed by Daniel G. Thompson in *Politics in a Democracy* (1893). In a period signalized by the long and but briefly interrupted ascendancy of one party (the Republican), Thompson noted the "great advantage to the public weal of a vigorous and effective opposition of at least two parties to hold each other in check. . . . It is the party rioting in the luxury of power and not in fear of competitors, that is filled with corruption and dangerous to the welfare of the community."¹⁵ The vital role of constitutional opposition, a fundamental prerequisite for a successfully operating two-party system, was directly related by Thompson to responsible

government. The author also recognized that each major party whether it be in control of the administration or in the minority must evolve its philosophy toward the contemporary and perennial problems of government.

Thompson's work was directed to a general audience. At the close of the century, another group of texts designed for use in primary and secondary schools appeared. On the whole they did not advance much beyond the civics writing of the pre-war period.¹⁶ Of particular interest is Samuel E. Forman's *First Lessons in Civics* (1898) in which the author treated party as an arm of government. The importance of parties in the election process was emphasized.¹⁷ Regardless of what elective office a citizen might seek, "he must secure his election through a party."¹⁸ Party served as a determinant of government policy and a conductor for political opinion. Through such texts as Forman's, parties in relation to their electoral function were finally but briefly brought to the young student's attention.¹⁹ The universities and colleges of the nineteenth century could claim a somewhat better record than the lower schools in advancing the study of our party system.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF POLITICAL SCIENTISTS AND HISTORIANS TO THE EARLY STUDY OF PARTY

One of the earliest scholars in the United States to recognize the significance of political parties was the German-born Francis Lieber, Professor of History and Political Economy at South Carolina College, and after 1857, an eminent member of the faculty of Columbia College. In his two most important works, *Manual of Political Ethics* (1838-39), and *On Civil Liberty and Self-Government* (1853), Lieber considered parties chiefly in their relationship to freedom and responsible government.²⁰

In Lieber's opinion, neither a free state nor civil liberty could exist without the operation of genuine political parties. And within the party system, the agent which bore the chief responsibility was the "well organized and fully protected opposition," a force which constituted a "protecting fence" and a "creative power."²¹ The co-existence of liberty and order was impossible in the absence of a lawful opposition party.²² In presenting a theory of party as a bulwark of civil liberty, Lieber made an origi-

nal contribution to pre-Civil War thought. It is true that early statesmen and theorists realized the vital link between democracy and the functioning of political parties, but for the academic world, Lieber's analysis constituted a pioneering step.

Almost a half century intervened between the publication of Lieber's *Manual* and the beginning of systematic writing on government by educators in American colleges. One of the earlier works was contributed by Theodore Dwight Woolsey, president of Yale and teacher of History, Government, and International Law.²³ In his *Political Science* published in 1878, Woolsey did not emphasize the role of the opposition as had Lieber, but encouraged political independence.²⁴ By this he meant not the formation of a third party (against which he specifically cautioned) but the presence of of a body of voters who, by shifting sides intelligently, could keep both parties "within the bounds of right measures."²⁵

Regularity of party membership rather than independence was the primary concern of Woodrow Wilson in his early work, *Congressional Government* (1885). He considered parties in their practical relationship to the legislative process. The heart of the problem in Wilson's opinion was the lack of party responsibility. Without accountability and cohesiveness, the essential correlation between executive policy determination and legislative enactment was dissipated. Political parties were the necessary instrumentality for overcoming the separation of powers. They could not perform this function in the absence of disciplined responsibility. Wilson considered the parties in Congress factious and inchoate, incapable of "intelligent planning and superintendence of policy." In this state, it was remarkable that a two-party system could survive. Wilson was one of the first teachers to focus attention on the advantages of requiring legislators to adhere to the program of their party, and to stand or fall on its merits.²⁶

Only three years following the publication of *Congressional Government* appeared a work which Wilson acclaimed as a "standard authority on our institutions." James Bryce's *The American Commonwealth* (1888) portrayed the complex panorama of American life as it unfolded before the eyes of a distinguished

British historian and traveler. Of particular significance was Part III devoted to "The Party System."²⁷ Bryce examined the underlying causes of the two-party system in the United States,²⁸ the ideologies of the parties, the tenacity of the "machine," the manipulations and procedures of caucuses and conventions.²⁹ The many-faceted influence of party upon the conduct of government was for the first time chronicled in its important dimensions. Bryce probed practices and attitudes which had penetrated the political consciousness of the nation. Although the *Commonwealth* cannot be accredited to an American author or teacher in the field of government, this work of an eminent foreign observer made a notable contribution, through its wide use and instantly recognized merit, toward promoting the study of political parties.

What may well be judged the greatest individual contribution of the nineties to the literature on political parties was made by Anson D. Morse, Professor of History and Political Science at Amherst College. In a series of articles³⁰ Morse analyzed the party politics of specific periods, the ideology of individual parties and the responsibilities of these institutions in our political system. The party, stated Morse, "educates and organizes public opinion, and it administers the government." He emphasized more explicitly than any of his predecessors the integral connection between party and public opinion.

"Party is by far the most important of the agencies through which the crude first thoughts and blind first feelings of the people are transformed into the rational thinking and feeling which is public opinion."³¹

"Party stands closer to the state than any other factor of the political system. It is the first to interpret, and the first to give expression to the will of the state. And when that will is once made manifest party superintends its execution."³²

Morse did not write of a two-party system as such, but the acceptance of that system was integral to his analysis. He understood the exact role of the opposition and outlined its tasks.³³ He ascribed great importance in the operation of the party system to the principle of alternation in power.³⁴ He referred fre-

quently to the qualities necessary to maintain a party great, viable and fit to govern. Much of the later literature on party was heavily indebted to Morse.

Such works as Henry J. Ford's *The Rise and Growth of American Politics* and Jesse Macy's *Party Organization and Machinery* fall just beyond the turn of the century but they may be cited here as superior to any work of early political scientists and historians, with the exception of Morse, in the field of party politics. Like Lieber, Macy appreciated the indispensability of a loyal opposition.³⁵ Like Wilson, he perceived the necessity for party responsibility.³⁶ Both Macy and Morse were forerunners of modern party theorists rather than typical products of the nineteenth century academic world.

On the whole, the early literature of government reflects to a disproportionately small degree the popular acceptance of the party institution in the life of the nation. Statesmen-theorists of the early nineteenth century and newspapers and journals especially after the Civil War perceived more clearly the practical and philosophical foundations of parties in general and the two-party system in particular. Early text-writers and teachers approached the study of government from a narrow constitutional viewpoint. From this matrix, a more general survey of the problems of government emerged.

The early texts ignored the conventions of the Constitution despite the fact that by the 1840's, the party—one of the most important of these conventions—had become an obvious instrumentality of government, and the two-party system was an established pattern in our political life. One finds a "cultural lag" of a half century between the practical acceptance of parties and the appearance of this institution as a subject of study in formal education.

Men like Lieber, Wilson and Morse, who were primarily scholars and educators rather than text authors were not content with a superficial description of these organizations which had attained such currency in American political life. At least to a portion of university students, therefore, the practices and vagaries of government were related to the realities of party conflict. The new school of political scientists awakened the interest of educators in

the party system and produced through its own efforts and that of its students, a more comprehensive literature investigating the history and behavior of this extra-constitutional institution. It was not until the twentieth century that the study of political parties achieved a more universally accepted if subsidiary place in the teaching of government.

¹ For a recent addition to that literature, see "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System," *American Political Science Review*, XLIV (September, 1950).

² The attributes and mechanism of a Two-party system derivable from the practical and theoretical evolution of the concept underlying that system are: (1) the active participation of two major parties, each able to secure control of the national administration; (2) inter-party acceptance of a common code of values embracing the basic form of government and the fundamental purposes of the state; (3) intra-party compromise of the economic and sectional interests and pressure groups within its ranks; (4) national organization and representation of each major party; (5) sponsorship by the major parties of alternative programs so that the electorate is confronted with a clear choice; (6) rotation or alternation in power—neither major party to occupy a permanent position of domination; (7) constitutional opposition embodied in the practiced ability of the defeated major party to stand ready as alternate government and to challenge, lawfully and astutely, the policies of the administration.

³ The distribution of committee assignments in Congress and the composition of election boards are two examples of this institutionalization. In appointing or electing the committees of Congress, it has been the practice of each House since the early use of standing committees to provide both majority and minority party representation. The first formal recognition of this convention occurred in the Senate on December 14, 1846. See *Congressional Globe*, 29 C., 2S., (1846-47), p. 30. One of the earliest laws prescribing the composition of election boards, the New York act of May 26, 1841, stipulated that at least two parties be represented on each district board. *Laws of New York*, 1841, chap. 301, sec. 4. Other states adopted similar requirements following the Civil War.

⁴ For bibliographies of early texts in the field of government consult Rolla Tryon, *The Social Sciences as School Subjects* (New York, 1935), Division III, and Agnew Roobach, *The Development of the Social Studies in American Education before 1861* (Philadelphia, 1937), chap. vii and Appendix C.

⁵ M. Ostrogorski in his *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties* (New York, 1902), II, 234, noted that recent progress in the pursuit of "political and historical studies" was evident in the "sphere of higher education," but in the lower schools "a pupil has but little chance of learning how his country is governed. . . ."

⁶ Jesse Macy, *Party Organization and Machinery* (New York, 1904). Henry J. Ford, *The Rise and Growth of American Politics* (New York, 1900). Macy was Professor of Political Science at Grinnell College; Ford was a newspaper editor and later Professor of Politics at Princeton.

⁷ The most famous of the constitutional treatises, Justice Joseph Story's *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States* (1833) and Justice James Kent's *Commentaries on American Law* (1826-30) ignored political parties. An examination of ten of the most popular constitutional texts before the Civil War discloses this same omission.

⁸ James Bayard's *A Brief Exposition of the Constitution of the United States* (1833) presenting the nationalist viewpoint may be contrasted with Abel Upshur's *A Brief Enquiry into the True Nature and Character of our Federal Government* (1840) which opposed a strong central government. Some of the constitutional treatises approached their subject from a jurisprudential viewpoint, examining court cases in juxtaposition to relevant constitutional clauses. Probably the most famous example of this type of text was Thomas Cooley's *The General Principles of Constitutional Law in the United States of America* (1880).

⁹ See William Sullivan's *The Political Class Book* (1832); Nathaniel Chipman's *Principles of Government* (1833) which elaborated the author's views in his early *Principles of Government* (1793); J. B. Shurtleff's *The Governmental Instructor* (1845). Both Shurtleff's and Sullivan's texts were popular.

¹⁰ Goodrich devoted one chapter of three pages to parties.

¹¹ (4th ed.; New York, 1844), p. 239.

¹² Andrew W. Young's *The Citizen's Manual of Government and Law* (1853) was, like Goodrich's work, widely used in the schools. His emphasis was upon the history of parties. In his *Theory of Politics* (1853), the historian, Richard Hildreth noted simply that parties were employed to nominate and elect government officials.

¹³ p. 239. Bateman commented that at least two parties were necessary in our political system to represent "a diversity of individuals" and "a common principle of humanity," or self-government as opposed to social government. (p. 241).

Another general text taking cognizance of parties was John C. Hurd's *The Theory of Our National Existence* (1881) in which the author wrote of the contest between the Ins and the Outs. Hurd also noted some relationship between political parties and the functioning of democratic government. Simon Sterne's *Constitutional History and Political Development of the United States* (1882) forecast a dim future for the major parties of his day. His chief objection was the lack of issues to differentiate Republicans from Democrats. Sterne recognized an essential component of the two-party concept—that the opposing parties must present a clear choice to the electorate on matters of policy.

¹⁴ Both B. A. Hinsdale, *The American Government* (rev. ed., 1895) and C. G. Tiedeman, *The Unwritten Constitution of the United States* (1890) noted, as had Johnston, the early origins of two parties but offered no explanation of why two major forces have customarily dominated the conduct of the nation's politics.

¹⁵ p. 39.

¹⁶ Two examples of the late group of texts are found in Anne Dawes's *How We Are Governed* (1885), and Charles F. Dole's *The American Citizen* (1892). Dole groped for an answer to "why there should be two parties only" and concluded that the method of election provided a possible explanation. ". . . since it requires a majority of votes to secure the government, a small national party cannot permanently accomplish much, except by getting the balance of power, and thus influencing the larger parties." (p. 126).

¹⁷ Other authors of the late nineteenth century who examined the party machine and the election process were John Fiske, *Civil Government in the United States* (1890), and Worthington C. Ford, *The American Citizen's Manual* (1896).

¹⁸ p. 179.

¹⁹ *The Report of the Committee on Secondary Education* published by the United States Bureau of Education (Washington, 1893) noted that the study of Civil Government was undertaken in not more than one-sixth of the grammar schools and that "very few teachers seem to be familiar with the subject." Never-

theless, the Committee concluded that "we do not feel justified in recommending more time for the subject than is now employed by the best schools." (pp. 179f). A very different attitude was adopted by educators less than two decades later. In the New England History Teachers' Association's *An Outline for the Study of American Civil Government* (New York, 1910), one chapter deals exclusively with parties and recommends that these institutions be studied not only from the historical point of view but also as to "The uses of and necessity for political parties." (p. 160).

²⁰ In the *Manual of Political Ethics* (Boston, 1838-39), II, 416f, Lieber distinguished between "passing" parties (factions) and "historical" parties which evolved a "system and doctrine" with roots "in the practical life of the nation." Historical parties were intimately associated with the "steady development of substantial liberty," whereas passing parties reduced the political life to a struggle of Ins and Outs.

²¹ *On Civil Liberty and Self Government* (Philadelphia, 1853), I, 163f.

²² *Manual of Political Ethics*, II, 434.

²³ Woolsey was responsible for the new edition of Lieber's *Manual* which appeared in 1875.

²⁴ Woolsey's views should be considered in the light of contemporary criticism directed against the Republican party by the press and by reformers such as Carl Schurz. See *The Nation*, March 21, 1872, p. 180; March 28, 1872, p. 196; October 23, 1884, pp. 347f; November 6, 1884, p. 392; *New York Times*, June 7 and 21, 1884; *Harper's Weekly*, March 13, 1880, p. 162; Carl Schurz, *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers* (New York, 1913), II, 55f, 64f; III, 163, 236; IV, 261, and James Russell Lowell, *Political Essays* (Boston, 1888), pp. 315ff.

²⁵ *Political Science (or the State Theoretically and Practically Considered)* (New York, 1878), II, 548.

²⁶ Wilson's contemporary, W. W. Willoughby, Professor of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University, advanced an opposite view of party responsibility. In

An Examination of the Nature of the State (New York, 1896), Willoughby observed that strict party discipline rendered possible tyranny by the majority and led to the "crushing out of individuality and to the suppression of liberty of opinion. . . ." (p. 414).

²⁷ In his review of the *Commonwealth*, Wilson commended Part III as the author's "crowning achievement." See *Political Science Quarterly*, IV (March, 1889), 153-69. Bryce stated that he undertook the analysis of American party politics because ". . . I know of no author who has set himself to describe impartially the actual daily working of that part of the vast and intricate political machinery which lies outside the Constitution. . . ." *The American Commonwealth* (2nd ed.; London, 1889), I, 637. For a contemporary commentary on Bryce's "Party System" see the article of Professor Robert C. Brooks, "American Parties and Politics, 1888 and 1938," in *Bryce's American Commonwealth* (New York, 1939), pp. 48-79.

²⁸ *The American Commonwealth*, II, 17ff.

²⁹ In even greater detail, M. Ostrogorski, *op. cit.*, II, 658ff, scrutinized the party machine and concluded that to prevent usurpation of power by the bosses, permanent parties should be abolished and only *ad hoc* parties created to advance single issues and specific causes.

³⁰ These articles first appeared in periodicals, but were later consolidated into *Parties and Party Leaders* (Boston, 1923).

³¹ "The Place of Party in the Political System," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, II (November, 1891), 306.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 308.

³³ "The Natural History of Party," *Parties and Party Leaders*, pp. 38-41.

³⁴ "Causes and Consequences of the Party Revolution of 1800," *ibid.*, pp. 120f.

³⁵ *Party Organization and Machinery*, pp. x, 9; chap. xviii.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

No Salesman Needed

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"Our American Competitive Enterprise System sells itself when it is understood." This statement is obviously true when the qualification, "when it is understood," is overcome. In any discussion of our competitive economy the honest scholar is immediately confronted with many problems. A teacher would betray his professional prerogatives if he glossed over or ignored the fact that many problems do exist and that these problems are serious ones which should be remedied as quickly as possible. It must be remembered, however, that it is equally unethical and unprofessional to emphasize the troublesome aspects of our economy at the expense of the beneficent aspects which are, in reality, far greater in quality and quantity.

One must approach the subject of economics with an unbiased viewpoint in which senti-

mentality or emotionalism in no way prevent an honest examination of the facts. It is true that sociological implications can never be completely divorced from the subject; however they must be considered in a study in their proper perspective in order that they do not alter or pervert the facts.

The American Competitive Enterprise System has justified itself. This fact can be proved on any basis of comparison which utilizes accepted modes of measurement. The record of the American Competitive Enterprise System speaks for itself. With less than 1/15 of the world's resources, and less than 1/15 of the world's population, we have outproduced the rest of the world. The people of America have a higher standard of living than do those of any other country in the world. In America

there are more schools, more hospitals, more parks, more bathtubs, telephones, and cars. Americans have these things partially because of our climate and resources. But European Russia has a comparable climate and more resources. Our standard of living may be partially the result of our democratic government, but England and other countries enjoy the same type of government. It is partially the result of better business management, but pre-war Germany had that. It is partly the result of our labor unions, but these were established earlier and more securely in many Western European countries.

What else can be deduced from this survey, then, but that the competitive element of our system of enterprise is responsible for our superior living standard and our economic status as a nation? The facts illustrate and substantiate the record, and this record cannot be refuted. Facts show that, in spite of serious economic problems, we have fewer and less severe problems than any other nation in the world.

It is essential to our welfare as individuals and as a nation that these facts be carried to the people, that the people be encouraged to examine the record to see and understand for themselves where their future security lies.

To bring about a recognition of the basic characteristics of our economy is the objective of a Pennsylvania organization called ACES, Americans for the Competitive Enterprise System. This organization is a non-profit, non-political citizens' government which was established in Philadelphia for the purpose of educating millions of Americans in recognizing the superiority of the American competitive system over any form of collectivism, including Communism, Fascism, and Socialism. ACES stresses dynamic alternatives to collectivist proposals, fitting these alternatives within the framework of the enterprise system. ACES is not an action group. It fronts for no faction, neither endorses nor opposes any political party or candidate, neither lobbies nor attempts to influence legislation.

ACES conducts a four-point system. First, it operates a Speakers' Bureau of more than 150 trained volunteers. Experienced speakers, equipped to talk on any aspect of our American competitive system and its advantages over any

form of collectivism, are sent to speak without charge to all kinds of groups throughout Eastern Pennsylvania. Portable visual aid charts, attractively colored, are used to illustrate graphically the speakers' points.

Second, one of the most important activities in which ACES engages is a program for public, parochial, and private schools to inform students and teachers about the operation of our competitive system and of the benefits of our American economy as a whole.

The program for students is a three-day activity which includes instruction on two days and a company tour on the third day. Polls reveal shocking misconceptions among students about the operation of American industry, the role of stockholders, and the average rate of profit from the sales dollar. To meet this problem—bridging the gap between the world of business and the schoolroom—ACES sends one of its speakers into the classroom to speak to students on general aspects of our economic system. Following the speaker's presentation, an educational film is shown. The next day, the students in small groups tour a selected plant, bank, or store where they are addressed by management and encouraged to ask questions. This tour is followed, on the third day, by a visit to the classroom by a representative of the particular plant, bank, or store. Using simplified operating reports and "pie charts" for demonstration, this representative of management explains the development of his company, indicates how much it pays out in wages compared to the amount dispersed in dividends.

ACES also conducts two-day Discussion Seminars for school teachers designed to provide them with information that may be passed on to the students. Fifteen teachers attend each of these seminars. By means of simplified corporate operating statements, educational films and other visual aids, by direct explanation, teachers are shown how the American economic system operates, its problems and its advantages. The teachers also visit a plant, store, or bank where they can examine a business in operation and can question the management on its business practices.

Third, ACES sponsors a program of employee economic education built around a discussion film shown in the plants. This means encourages employees to understand basic

economic concepts of our American business system.

Fourth, ACES distributes literature designed for employees and students as well as citizens generally throughout the United States. It is estimated that this literature has been read by more than one million people in forty-five states.

ACES is financed entirely by voluntary tax-deductible contributions. It has expanded rapidly since its conception in 1949. Stemming from an original organization in Philadelphia,

ACES now has chapters in Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, and Lancaster. Other chapters now being organized will bring ACES to every section of Pennsylvania. Its program is, likewise, being extended to neighboring states.

It is important that the American Competitive System is explained, not "sold," by an honest and thorough examination of the facts. The facts are readily available. If these facts are understood, no salesman will be needed, for our American System sells itself. ACES' job is to make it understood.

Mark Twain and Education

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Last Friday, November 30,¹ we observed the birthday of one of America's best-loved writers, Mark Twain. Hardly another American author, during his lifetime, won such world-wide recognition: the great men and institutions of many nations delighted to pay tribute to him; his friends were myriad. Indeed the wealth of our great nation is, to a very large degree, determined by leaders such as Mark Twain. He dug his roots deeply into American soil; and, as a result of his sturdy growth, we in America today lead a richer and fuller life. Twain and others like him have passed down to us a collection of historical, ethnographic, and literary facts which allow us to examine life in its true linear perspective; these facts are the Americana, which we, as educators, must perpetuate in our schools.

How can we more effectively keep the name of Mark Twain and the principles which he represents in the minds of our young people than by naming one of the city's new schools in his honor? It is particularly fitting that we should do this; for Mark Twain, though one of America's greatest humorists, was also an educational philosopher with remarkable insight. True, he had only a few months of formal schooling and almost no acquaintance with the "moderns" who were revising the educational theories of his youth; but his common sense and observation led him to many liberal conclusions

regarding education. These, as a part of the Americana which we are perpetuating in our modern schools, I should like to share with you very briefly this afternoon.

So constant was his concern with educational problems that he commented on them in almost every volume he wrote. The basic principles of his system of education, however, can be found in such representative selections of his writing as *The Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, *What Is Man? The American Claimant*, *Following the Equator*, his *Letters*, and his official biography by Albert Bigelow Paine.

Mark Twain's boundless faith in the power of education inspired him to write in the *Connecticut Yankee*, "My land, the power of training! of influence! of education! It can bring a body to believe anything." And how modern is Mark Twain in his concept of education as he writes in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, "when we set about accounting for a Napoleon or a Shakespeare or a Raphael or a Wagner or an Edison or any other extraordinary person, we understand that the measure of his talent will not explain the whole result, nor even the largest part of it; no, it is the atmosphere in which the talent was cradled that explains; it is the training that it received while it grew, the nurture it got from reading, study, example, the encouragement it gathered from self-

recognition and recognition from the outside at each stage of its development. When we know all these details, then we know why the man was ready when his opportunity came."

At times Mark Twain became somewhat pessimistic with what he called "the damned human race." However, never relinquishing the hope that education would raise man to higher levels, he wrote, "Inestimably valuable is training, influence, education, in right directions—training one's self-approbation to elevate its ideals. Training is potent. Training toward higher and higher and ever higher ideals is worth any man's thought, and labor, and diligence." Mark Twain's definition of training is broad and is completely in accord with a twentieth-century psychologist's definition: "Study, instruction, lectures, sermons? That is part of it—but not a large part. I mean all the outside influences. There are a million of them. From the cradle to the grave, during all his working hours, the human being is under training. In the very first rank of his trainers stands *association*. It is his human environment which influences his mind and his feelings, furnishes him ideals, and sets him on his road, and keeps him in it. If he leaves that road, he will find himself shunned by the people whom he most loves and esteems and whose approval he most values. He is a chameleon; by the law of his nature he takes the color of his place of resort. The influences about him create his preferences, his aversions, his politics, his tastes, his morals, his religion. He creates more of these things for himself. He *thinks* he does, but that is because he has not examined into the matter."

Twain's faith in training did not extend to approval of the formal education then offered in the schools, and certainly not to the methods then in vogue with the schoolmasters. He deplored the undue emphasis placed on "the artificial culture of books, which adorns but doesn't really educate." He was before Dewey in urging that the students be made partners in the educational enterprise. He urged that the teachers should eschew dry rules, explain the nature and significance of the facts as they are studied, and help the students to learn, so far as possible, by doing.

For example, "history," he reminded the

schoolmasters, "requires a world of time and bitter hard work when your 'education' is no further advanced than the cat's; when you are merely stuffing yourself with a mixed-up mess of empty names and random incidents and elusive dates which no one teaches you how to interpret and which, interpreted, pay you not a farthing's value for your waste of time." History was one of his own favorite studies. He invented a method of teaching English history to his children—by driving a row of pegs into the lawn, each peg representing an English king, and each foot of space between the pegs representing one year of his reign. By this method, supplemented with absurd drawings of the kings, and with tales of their times, history took on glamour and life. One of the reasons why he over-estimated the relative value among his works of *The Prince and the Pauper* was its service in making history real to children. When this book was dramatized and presented on the stage of various children's theatres, quite in tone with the modern philosophy of education, he wrote, "The children's theatre is the only teacher of morals and conduct and high ideals that never bores the pupil, but always leaves him sorry when the lesson is over."

He deplored the tendency to direct all education toward the professions, when it was self-evident that not all students being educated could be received into professional ranks. "At home," he declared, during his world tour, "I once made a speech deploring the injuries inflicted by the high school in making handicrafts distasteful to boys who would have been willing to make a living at trades and agriculture if they had but had the good luck to stop with common school. But I made no converts."

Twain dwelt in an age of remarkable scientific and mechanical advancement; he was himself vastly interested in these fields and in his books foretold, not only the use of fingerprints to identify criminals, but the development of television as well. Also Twain was among the first users of the telephone and typewriter. He lost a fortune in promoting the development of a linotype machine, and he himself patented a number of inventions. He felt that science progressed because enough

of his fellowmen believed "that a new idea can have value."

In conclusion, we find that Mark Twain was an educational philosopher whose theories still remain current. In stressing the values of an education, he emphasized the important role of environment. Likewise, in place of the "stuffing" and "rote-memory" methods of the schoolmasters of his day, he advocated learning by associations, learning by doing, learning for pleasurable motives rather than for fear of punishment, and learning for a practical adjustment to a changing world rather than merely plodding through a traditional curriculum. Indeed Mark Twain's philosophy of edu-

cation is more suited to our day and age than it was to his. He was a true "pioneer thinker."

Mark Twain! This was a name which Samuel Langhorne Clemens chose for himself. What dynamic syllables they are! He chose them from his river experience; a leadman's call, signifying two fathoms or twelve feet. The name had a richness about it. He said: "It was always a pleasant sound for a pilot to hear on a dark night; it meant safe water." Such being the case, could we christen our new ship of learning with a name more appropriate than Mark Twain?

¹ *Editor's Note:* A speech delivered December 2, 1951, to the Mark Twain Library and Memorial Commission, Hartford, Connecticut.

A Bibliographical Guide to the Study of History With Selected References for Historical Research

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The Pacific Historical Review. Published by the Pacific Coast branch of the American Historical Association. Founded in 1932. Berkeley, California. Quarterly.

The Political Science Quarterly. Edited for the Academy of Political Science by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Founded in 1880. New York, Columbia University Press.

Revue Historique. Leading French historical journal. Founded in 1876. Bimonthly since 1877.

The Russian Review. A review of Russian history, politics, economics, and literature. Founded in 1912. London, T. Nelson & Sons. Quarterly.

The Slavonic and East European Review. Published for a committee of American scholars. Menasha, Wisconsin, G. Banta Publishing Company. Founded in 1922. Number of issues per year has varied.

Social Education. Official Journal of the National Council for the Social Studies, in collaboration with the American Historical Association. Founded in 1936. Published monthly, from October to May. Washington, D. C.

The Social Studies, formerly known as *The Historical Outlook*. Founded in 1909. Philadelphia, The McKinley Publishing Com-

- pany. Monthly, from October to May.
- The South Atlantic Quarterly.* Founded in 1902 by the 9019 Scholarship Society of Trinity College. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina.
- The Southwest Review.* Founded in 1924. Published by the Southern Methodist University Press, Dallas. Quarterly.
- The Southwestern Historical Quarterly.* Founded in 1897. Austin, Texas State Historical Association.
- Speculum.* A journal of mediaeval studies published by the Mediaeval Academy of America. Founded in 1925. Quarterly.
- The Virginia Cavalcade.* Published by the Virginia State Library. Founded in 1951. Quarterly.
- The Virginia Quarterly Review.* A national journal of literature and discussion. Founded in 1925. Charlottesville, University of Virginia.
- The William and Mary Quarterly.* Published by the Institute of Early American History and Culture. First series, July, 1892-April, 1919; second series, January, 1921-October, 1943; third series, January, 1944-Williamsburg, Virginia.
- The Yale Review.* A national quarterly. Founded in 1892. New Haven, Yale University Press.

In addition to the above periodicals, the student will find many other historical journals published by state and local historical associations.

I. Guides to Periodical Literature

- International Index to Periodical Literature, 1907-1949* (New York: H. W. Wilson Company) 11 vols.
- Nineteenth Century Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, 1890-1899* (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1944). 2 vols.
- Poole's Index to Periodical Literature, 1802-1906* (New York: P. Smith, 1938). 6 vols.
- Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, 1900-1951* (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1905-1951). 17 vols.
- Graves, Eileen C., and Ulrich, Carolyn F., editors, *Ulrich's Periodicals Directory.* A classified guide to a selected list of current periodicals, foreign and domestic (Sixth edition. New York: R. R. Bowker Co., 1951).

J. Historical Societies

- Griffin, Appleton C., *Bibliography of American Historical Societies of the United States and the Dominion of Canada* (Second edition, revised and enlarged. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907).

The Teachers' Page

HYMAN M. BOODISH

Dobbins Vocational Technical School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

During the past several years there has been an increasing emphasis on the teaching of economics. Under the impetus of the Committee for Economic Development (CED), there came into existence, in 1948, The Joint Council on Economic Education—"A non-profit, educational organization created to help school systems improve the quality of social and economic education through curriculum research, workshops, seminars, in-service training programs and the preparation of materials for teachers and students."

In view of this emphasis on economic education and in view of the large number of work-

shops on economics planned for this summer, in which teachers might wish to enroll, we decided to devote this issue of "The Teachers' Page" to the work of the Joint Council as it relates to the subject of teaching economics. We wrote to the Joint Council and submitted the following questions:

What is the goal, aim, or functions of the Joint Council on Economic Education?

What is the Council's views regarding what economics should be taught?

a. on the secondary school level

b. on the college level

How could the high schools include more

economics in the curriculum? What other subjects might be supplanted?

Is there a need for greater emphasis on teaching economics?

What special training should persons teaching economics have?

What fundamentals in economics should the average non-college trained citizens have?

Should economics in the secondary schools be taught as "straight economics" or should it be integrated with other subjects like history or problems of democracy?

What new ways or techniques of teaching economics on the secondary level have been developed?

What functions could regional and local councils on economic education perform?

The pages that follow, written by Mr. Albert I. Prince, Public Relations Consultant for the Joint Council, do not answer all the questions, but they present the reasons and purposes behind the movement for increased emphasis on economic education.

Nearly 2,000 American school teachers will attend workshops this summer in an attack upon economic illiteracy. They will bring back to their classrooms in the fall subject matter on the American economy, its strengths, weaknesses, and present-day challenges. The 28 workshops, mostly on university campuses, will be held in 19 states and the territory of Hawaii. Average length of a workshop is three weeks. During that period teachers hear lectures on economic subjects by experts in their field, discuss problems with the speakers and then are assisted by curriculum experts in planning a classroom presentation that will be meaningful to their pupils. Here are some of the subjects considered by teachers at a typical workshop: What Are the Achievements and Potentialities of Our Economy? How Does a Free Enterprise Economy Function? What Are Its Energizing and Controlling Forces? What Economic Problems Does Mobilization Impose? How Can We Deal with Current Inflationary Pressures? What Are the Problems of Agriculture? What Is Our Farm Price Support Policy? What Are the Problems of Labor-Management Relations? What Are the Problems of Social Security and Social Welfare? What Is America's Role in World Trade?

Professor G. Derwood Baker, chairman of the Joint Council on Economic Education, declares that "economic illiteracy is the one great threat which, if left unchallenged, would surely destroy our economic system and the free society that has been erected around it." The program of the Joint Council and the regional and state councils affiliated with it is, indeed, a challenge to the school teachers of the United States to accept economic education as a major responsibility and to give more than meagre attention to economic institutions, problems and issues.

There is abundant proof, says Dr. Baker, that students do not understand the economic problems that surround them. They do not have firmly held convictions at odds with the American system but they are in a state of marked confusion, with a serious lack of information. It is Professor Baker's opinion that most teachers are not prepared to conduct classroom discussion of economic problems even though at heart they are thoroughly in sympathy with the American Way.

Recently the Brookings Institution joined those deploring the asserted lack of economic knowledge on the part of most Americans. The Joint Council believes its Summary Report reveals a successful attempt on the part of many teachers to overcome this handicap.

Economic education cannot be entrusted to pressure groups, Baker insists, and the Joint Council is striving both to challenge schools to undertake this task and to aid them in doing it.

Organized effort to prepare teachers, especially those assigned to teen-agers, to deal effectively, in their classrooms, with economic problems, has developed in 16 states since the formation of the Joint Council. More than 2,400 teachers from 44 states and the Territory of Hawaii have attended workshop centers.

Thousands of other teachers have been aided, through local, regional and state Council programs in bringing the study of practical economic problems into the curriculum.

This program of bringing economic education to the schools of the nation had its start in the summer of 1948 at New York University. A workshop was organized under Professor Baker of the School of Education faculty as director. Here it was proved possible, in three weeks, to

give school people, even those with little or no economic training, a basic understanding of the structure and operation of American economy. Teachers were able, upon return to school, to conduct class sessions on such subjects as how to get a job, how to budget income, how to use credit, labor-management relations, social security, farm price supports, the role of profits in our economy, the hazards of inflation and other problems with which a high school student must be familiar if he is to become the informed citizen society expects from the school.

The Joint Council was formed in 1949 as a non-profit, non-partisan educational organization to aid teachers, throughout the country, in developing their interest in and competence to deal with economic problems and issues. Summer workshops on the campuses of 22 colleges and universities have followed the general pattern of the 1948 sessions although subjects considered are varied. These workshops pay special attention to economic problems of their communities or geographic sections. Several councils have sponsored community meetings and forums on economic questions.

During the intensive workshop program, usually lasting three weeks, the structure and function of the American economy is analysed and policies and procedures for improving economic education in the public schools are considered. Materials developed in one workshop are available to teachers in other areas and the Joint Council feels that one of its best services is that of facilitating the exchange of experience and materials.

The financial support of the National Joint Council program has come from the Committee for Economic Development and the Fund for Adult Education established by the Ford Foundation. State and local councils raise their own funds.

From the outset, the Joint Council and the state, regional and local councils that have since been formed, have included in their memberships not only educators but leaders of business, industry, labor and civic groups. Teachers taking economic problems into the classrooms are by no means restricted to the social studies groups. While they are the most numerous

group those attending workshops and serving on councils are a good cross section of a high school faculty—business education, science, mathematics, vocational education, English, etc.

The Joint Council has close working relationships with many professional organizations, notably the National Association of Secondary School Principals, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, National Council for the Social Studies, United Business Education Association and the Department of Audio-Visual Instruction of the National Education Association.

A major problem encountered by those trying to teach economic problems at the high school level has been the relative lack of materials. The Joint Council has assisted teams of specialists in attacking this problem and has aided other councils and the many workshop groups in locating or developing such teaching aids.

Consultants from business, labor, research organizations and government have assisted teacher groups in understanding as well as in preparing teacher materials on phases of the American economy. Staffs for workshops, conferences and seminars include competent economists and professional curriculum specialists so that topics being prepared for classroom presentation are subjected to the checks of accuracy and suitability for teaching use.

Social studies teachers are the largest group attending workshops and participating in seminars and conferences but business education, science, mathematics, English, vocational education and even music are represented.

Economic education is still very new and a lot of evaluation is going on with respect to the organizing of workshops and determining what should be attempted in measures for bringing to the classroom what the teacher has learned of the materials developed and identified. While summer workshops are the most popular, they are only one of the means of teacher preparation for better economic education.

Seminar and weekend conferences are being held throughout the school year, workshopers, in many instances, welcoming the opportunity to share their experiences. At such sessions, teachers often discuss economic problems, in-

formally, with the bankers, union officers, industrialists, farmers and government officials of their communities.

List of workshops to be held this summer:
National—New York University, August 11-29. On Campus at the Riverdale Country School, New York City. This workshop will concentrate primarily on economic education in teacher education institutions.

California—Southern California Conference on Economic Education, August 4-22. Sponsored by Pomona College and Occidental College. On Campus of Occidental College, Los Angeles.

San Francisco State College, August 4-22. On Campus of Mills College, Oakland.

University of Colorado, Boulder, June 23-July 11.

University of Connecticut, Storrs, August 4-22.

University of Florida, Gainesville, June 16-July 25.

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, Tallahassee, June 16-July 3.

University of Georgia, Athens, June 10-July 25.

Hawaii—Honolulu, July 28-August 8.

Hilo, August 11-15.

Illinois—Northwestern University, Illinois, June 23-July 11. On the Campus of Lake Forest Academy, Lake Forest, Illinois.

State University of Iowa, Iowa City, June 11-July 2.

Michigan State College, East Lansing, August 4-22.

University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, August 4-22.

University of Mississippi, University, July 21-August 8.

On Campus at Oxford, Mississippi.

Missouri—Washington University, St. Louis, June 16-July 3.

New York—Syracuse University, Syracuse, June 30-July 18.

Ohio University, Athens, June 15-July 3.

Pennsylvania—Muhlenberg College, Allentown, August 11-22.

Philadelphia, June 27-July 31. For teachers in the Philadelphia schools.

University of Rhode Island, Kingston, July 7-25.

South Dakota State College, Brookings, June 16-July 2.

Tennessee Workshop on Economic Education, Nashville, June 18-July 9.

Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., June 25-July 8.

University of Texas, Austin, June 9-27.

Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, June 3-20.

University of Houston, Houston, Texas, June 9-27.

West Virginia—Marshall College, Huntington, June 2-13.

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mount Vernon, New York

Teachers of junior high school classes and of the intermediate grades will be interested in a new series of recordings called "Records of Knowledge" relating to American history and biography. Employing an entertainment technique to impart information, these recordings reproduce familiar music with new words—songs about our Presidents, inventors, heroes, pioneers, and explorers. The following albums are now available from Educational Services, 1702 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. They are priced at \$2.50 each, plus 25 cents postage. Each album consists of two 10-inch, 78 r.p.m. records, non-breakable.

Sing-A-Song of Presidents, Washington through Truman, in four albums.

Sing-A-Song of Inventors, in two albums.

Sing-A-Song of Heroes, in two albums.

Sing-A-Song of Pioneers and Explorers, in two albums.

FILMS

Communism. 1 reel. Sale. Color or black and white. Coronet Films, Coronet Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

What is Communism? How does Communism

threaten us, our values, and our way of life? Why has it become such a dangerous force in the modern world? Such questions are dealt with in this film.

Ancient Greece. 1 reel. Sound. Color or black and white. Sale. Coronet Films.

Primarily photographed in Greece, the film is an authentic document. It offers an ideal dramatization of one of the most important periods in human history.

A Lincoln Field Trip. 11 minutes. Black and white. Sale. International Film Bureau, Inc., 6 No. Michigan Ave., Chicago 2, Ill.

The film illustrates how a field trip can be used to present a story and how community resources can be employed in education.

The Beginning of History. 46 minutes. Sale or rental. International Film Bureau, Inc.

Film consists of three parts: I. The Stone Age; II. The Bronze Age; III. Iron Age Civilization. Takes as its theme the continuity of human life and culture.

Maps and Their Uses. 10 minutes. Sound. Color, and black and white. Sale. Coronet Films, Inc.

Shows special purpose maps, and their symbols. A scale of distances, a grid and a legend

are described, followed by the uses of contour maps.

The Rising Tide. 30 minutes. Sale or rental. National Film Board of Canada, 1270 Avenue of Americas, New York, N. Y.

Shows how the once poor fishermen of Canada have now a better standard of living, because of the growth of cooperatives.

New Tools for Learning. 16 mm. 20 minutes. Sale. Bell and Howell Co., 7100 McCormick, Lincolnwood, Ill.

Gives a better understanding of the use of films and other audio-visual tools in education.

Geography of the Southwestern States. 1 reel.

Sound. Color or B & W. Sale. Coronet Films, Inc.

This release offers a fresh look at Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Arizona. The ideas and geographic concepts are presented boldly and memorably.

In the Guianas. 9 minutes. Lease. Teaching Film Custodians, 25 W. 43 St., New York 18, N. Y.

Reveals the primitive life and activities of Negro families living in the back countries of the Guianas.

Mexican Agricultural Program. 20 minutes. Color. Service Charge. Association Films, Inc. 35 W. 45 St., New York, N. Y.

Shows American and Mexican scientists working with farmers in developing new seed strains and in other experimental testing.

Guatemala, Land of Looms. 30 minutes. Color. Sale. Allen-Moore Productions, 213 W. 7 St., Los Angeles 14, Cal.

Story of fabrics, how loomed, historical and cultural backgrounds of localities where itinerant buyers acquire them, native marimba music.

Republic of Peru. 10 minutes. Color. Sale. Pan American Union, Washington, D. C.

The camera travels through the major cities of Peru, telling the story of the geography of the country and some of its history.

British Guiana. 10 minutes. Sale. James A. Fitzpatrick's Travel Pictures, 8624 Sunset Blvd., Hollywood 46, Cal.

Depicts life in Georgetown and scenes of the rice, sugar, and gold mining industries.

Dutch in Latin America. 10 minutes. Sale or rent. Films of the Nations, 62 W. 45 St., New

York 19, N. Y.

Includes peoples of Dutch Guiana, their occupations, folklore, and industries.

South Africa's Modern Cities. 10 minutes. Color. Black or white. Sale. Almanac Films, Inc., 516 Fifth Ave., New York 19, N. Y.

This is the story of the culture of South Africa, with its modern cities and its up-to-date planning and architecture.

Cradle of Religion. 8 minutes. Free loan. Hamilton Wright Organization, Inc. 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

Any church, Christian or Jewish, has complete religious freedom in Egypt. Here is the story of religions as they are practiced today.

Struggle for Oil. 20 minutes. Sale. Rental. British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

This presentation of the story of oil is set in today's hotbed of the East,—Iran, which, as the world watches breathlessly, holds Britain's main concessions.

Atomic Alert. 15 minutes. Sale. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., Wilmette, Ill.

Gives an authentic but calm explanation of the effects of atomic bomb explosion, and what to do in air raids.

A Day in Congress. 20 minutes. Sale. Academic Films, P.O. Box 3088, Hollywood, Calif.

Documentary activities of a typical day in the lives of congressmen.

The Federal Government. 13 minutes. Color. Black & white. Sale. Coronet Films.

The structure and functions of the federal government are presented so clearly that the audience is given a greater understanding of its government; legislative, executive, and judicial.

John Quincy Adams. 20 minutes. Sale. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.

Shows the sixth president's boyhood, military service, authorship of the Monroe Doctrine.

John C. Calhoun. 20 minutes. Sale. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.

Tragic career of statesman, advocate of states rights, early political career, etc.

Alexander Hamilton. 20 minutes. Sale. EB Films.

Boy-businessman in West Indies, his part in Revolution and the adoption of the Constitution, etc.

Andrew Jackson. 20 minutes. Sale. EB Films. Boyhood, military career, spoils system, attack on U. S. Bank, etc.

Lincoln Speaks at Gettysburg. 10 minutes. Sale. Association Films, Inc., 35 W. 45 St., New York, N. Y.

Recreates historic speech through art and narration of speech itself. Hundreds of contemporary engravings and drawings were used.

Fish is Food. 10 minutes. Sale. Sterling, 316 W. 57 St., New York 20, N. Y.

Film tells the story of the almost endless resources of our oceans, rivers and lakes.

FILMSTRIPS

Advertising: A Force in Modern Living. 35 frames. Black & white, with (free) guide. Key Productions, Inc., 18 E. 41 St., New York 17, N. Y.

Shows the effect of advertising on the consumer and our economy.

Backgrounds of Our Freedom Series. Black & white. Silent. \$3.00 each, set of six for \$15.00. Each with Teaching Guide. Heritage Filmstrips, Inc., 89-11 63 Drive, Rego Park 74, N. Y.

1. *Triumph of Parliament:* 44 frames. Traces the rise of Parliament in England as a representative institution from Magna Carta to Reform Bill of 1832.

2. *The Causes of the French Revolution:* 37 frames. Analytical study of causes, taking each of several causes in turn and developing each.

3. *The French Revolution:* 47 frames. From the the Estates-General of 1789 to the end of Reign of Terror, 1794-95, with parallel development of (a) popular movements and (b) governmental changes.

4. *The Causes of the American Revolution:* 44 frames. Analytical study of causes, taking each of several causes in turn and developing each.

5. *The American Revolution:* 48 frames. From 1763 to 1783, with parallel development of (a) popular movements and (b) governmental changes.

6. *The Anti-Slavery Crusade:* 47 frames. After an introductory survey of slavery and abolitionism from world beginnings to about 1800, the filmstrip focuses on the American struggle and its culmination in the Thirteenth Amendment.

Red Tides in the Orient. 53 frames. Black and white. Teacher's Manual. Sale. Office of Educational Activities, *The New York Times*, Times Sq., New York 18, N. Y.

America's interest in the Far East where one out of three people live is outlined; also the extent of Communism there.

Near East Puzzle. 54 frames. Black & white. Teacher's Manual. Sale. *The New York Times*.

Shows the main conflicting forces at work in the Near East. It includes a general survey of social and economic problems of an area which is on the whole poor and misgoverned.

Oil Stake in the Cold War. 53 frames. Black & white. Teacher's Manual. *The New York Times*.

Shows the measures which have been taken with the help of the oil companies to raise living standards in the Near East countries.

Facts Fight Fears. 40 frames. Color. Loan. Teacher's Guide. The Natl. Foundation For Infantile Paralysis, Inc., 120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y.

Shows microscopic slides of nerve tissues, present methods of treatment for polio victims and recovery statistics.

Century of Progress.—Police. 28 frames. Sale. British Information Services.

Many changes have taken place to improve the capacity of the British police to maintain law and order.

The History of the American Negro, 1619-1865. 150 frames. Sale. Current History Films, 226 E. 22 St., New York, N. Y.

This is the story of the dark race and their contribution to America. Discusses their fight for freedom.

Our Constitution. 5 filmstrips, series total 225 frames. Color. Sale \$26.50 set, \$6.50 each. Popular Science Publishing Co., Audio-Visual Division, 353 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

Titles include:

Writing the Constitution

The Legislative Branch

The Executive Branch

The Judicial Branch

The Bill of Rights and other Amendments

All develop an understanding of the Constitution of the United States and its effect upon the government and people.

News and Comment

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

The Yale Report on Intellectual Freedom defines academic freedom as "the liberty to examine, to discuss, and to evaluate phenomena in all fields of learning, subject only to the generally accepted criteria of conscientious scholarship."

Yale University in a statement described the duty of higher education in the contemporary world as the presentation of all sides of any issue as impartially and forcefully as possible, without being limited to those sides currently popular with the trustees and the alumni. Colleges and institutions of higher learning are being currently made the targets of attacks by various pressure groups. The financially insolvent schools are unable to defend themselves.

Benjamin Fine, in his column, "Education in Review" (*New York Sunday Times*, February 24, 1952) made a sampling of representative colleges whose authorities support the Yale Report almost unanimously. These presidents appreciate the dangers which threaten the intellectual independence of the colleges but they have greater fear of the consequences if the colleges yield to pressure.

Dr. Saul K. Padover, Dean of the New School for Social Research, believes that the Yale Report has helped to clear the "intellectual atmosphere." He believes that American colleges must show courage in defending the open mind. "... The educational front is today the most crucial one in the world-wide battle for freedom and decency."

Dr. John W. Nason, president of Swarthmore College, warns against the inherent dangers in bowing to pressure groups, and points out that in a democracy it is the duty of the citizen to question and to criticize. He said,

"If the schools are to fulfill their function they must oppose the censorship of textbooks, the futile and disgraceful imposition of teachers' oaths, the submission to the economic and political prejudices of any one group."

PATTERN FOR SCHOOL-COMMUNITY COORDINATION

A pattern for school and community coordination arose out of the need for greater cooperation from citizen groups to maintain adequate school standards in the face of rising costs.

In December, 1951 (Benjamin Fine: "Education in Review," *New York Sunday Times*, December 9, 1951) the first all-day Bronx Borough school-community conference was held. Sponsored by the school officials and by eighteen leading community organizations, its theme was "The School and the Community Look at Each Other."

The consensus of opinion held that the responsibility for good schools belongs jointly to the teachers, the citizens, and civic groups. A good school results from a good teacher-parent relationship. New York City now has a staff of twenty-four community coordinators whose task it is to bring the school and the people of its neighborhood closer together, to help parents understand the changing school programs and to get civic organizations to work closely with school officials and teachers.

Four major problems were considered by the Conference:

- (1) "What and how are community conditions affecting school and after-school activities for our youth?"

The members of the conference maintain that adequately equipped school plants should be utilized by the community after school hours under the guidance of competent teachers. In this way socially acceptable outlets may be provided for youth and thus help to reduce juvenile delinquency.

- (2) "How should the school administrators and community organizations meet the responsibility to equip school personnel so that it can help improve school-community relations?"

Provision for meeting this responsibility

can be made in two ways: by creating teacher-supervisor training courses which would include work in school and community activities; and by developing more efficient communications between the schools and the community.

- (3) "What should be the relationship of the public school system and the community or neighborhood council? How should the council meet its responsibility, not only to the school but to the total community?"

Recommendations were made by the conference that the schools initiate the establishment of school-community councils if the community is unable to do so; that the Board of Education appoint additional effective school-community coordinators assigned to these community councils to provide professional guidance and continuity of program and action.

- (4) "How do we meet the problem of making more effective use of community leaders so that they take an active part in stimulating full community participation for the improvement of neighborhood conditions?"

Potential community leaders should be encouraged and motivated to participate in solving their local problems. They should be helped to develop skills and abilities and to make the best use of their talents by means of leadership training courses set up by the Board of Education.

School and community relations can be further improved by the teachers and citizens becoming acquainted personally so that they can understand, like and respect one another instead of fearing one another. Schoolmen object to the destructive effects of "carping criticism." However, schools cannot function as isolated institutions. Citizens have a right to a voice in making school policy.

Dean Ernest O. Melby of New York University's School of Education suggested that students in teacher-training institutions be prepared to take an active, practical part in community life and to get the "feel" of community life.

An actual example of good school community relations, responsible for providing and supporting a beautiful new school, is found in

Setauket, Long Island. In 1949 in Setauket a committee was formed of people representing all organizations and interests. It was called the United School Study Committee and decided to perform a self-survey of its educational needs. The gathering of the facts and the discussion of their report proved to be a unifying process.

The townsmen voted to construct a school which was also to be a community center. For its efficient use the organized citizens were assisted by the New York State Citizens Council. Enthusiasm and a sense of partnership with the school grew in that community until, at the dedication of the school, everybody had some part in the two day ceremonies.

THE MERCER MUSEUM

Tools used before the machine age are housed in the Mercer Museum of the Bucks County Historical Society in Doylestown, Pa. The Curator of the Museum, John Cummings, has described the contents in an article in *Pennsylvania History* (January, 1952).

Dr. Henry Mercer, a prominent archeologist, intended to collect the tools used by the settlers of Bucks County, then of Pennsylvania and finally of mankind.

Tools used in arts and crafts include those used in the woodworking trades. Before the terms carpentry and cabinet working existed, there were house-wrights, wheel-wrights, ship-wrights, "joyners," turners, coopers, coffin makers and pump makers.

The collection also contains tools used in obtaining, producing or processing food, both as an industry and in the home. Among the exhibits are equipment used in agriculture, hunting, fishing and trapping, and in domestic cookery. Examples of the last named are ornamental cookie cutters, springerle moulds, and fancy baking ware.

Textiles were another item of importance in the life of man before the industrial revolution. A part of the collection is devoted to "great wheels" for the preparation of woolen yarn, jennies or flaxwheels for the spinning of linen and the equipment used in needlework, tailoring and laundering. The visitor to the Museum can also see the shop and gear of a cobbler and hatter.

Before railroads were built in our country, stage coaches, Conestoga wagons and other vehicles were used for transportation. These are well represented in this collection as well as the crafts of the wagon builder, coach maker, harness maker and saddler.

The tools of the smith, the tinsmith, file maker and founder represent the crafts in metals. The collection exhibits the apparatus employed by the comb maker, the watch or clock maker, the broom or basket maker, and the chair painter. Attention is also given to the equipment and actual operations used in ceramics from common clay brick to sgraffito ware.

The professions were not neglected by Dr. Mercer. Among the exhibits are the instruments of the physician, surgeon, and apothecary, the musician, the printer, the painter, the schoolmaster and the minister.

Creature comforts and safety were not overlooked in this Museum which houses equipment for fire making, lighting, heating equipment, stove plates, and fire protection.

Persons who are able to travel to see the contents of the Museum will find many concrete illustrations of the means our forefathers had at hand for aid in their daily living and how they overcame the many difficulties with which they had to contend.

THE AMERICAN EAGLE

Arline H. Thomas has contributed a scholarly article upon the American Eagle in the Winter, 1952, issue of *American Heritage*. The bald eagle is the living symbol of the liberty and independence of our Nation. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the word "bald" meant white or streaked with white. The bald eagle has a sooty-brown body and a pure white head and tail which glisten like silver when the bird soars.

Dr. Thomas traces the history of the attitude of various peoples regarding the eagle from the first recorded historical account in ancient Mesopotamia to the Romans and Syrians and the founding fathers. The bird is now scarce in the United States but still plentiful in Alaska.

The article is beautifully illustrated with photographs of the Bald Eagle from the col-

lection of the Audubon Society. There are three pages in color showing carved wooden eagles, gilded wooden and gilded copper eagles, a picture of an eagle in the Tavern of Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Massachusetts, and another photograph of the eagle on the sign of Richard Angell's Tavern, 1808. The back cover of *American Heritage* is adorned with a colored photograph of a bald eagle with the Shield of the United States perched on a rocky crag overlooking the sea. It is entitled "News from Home" and was reproduced through the courtesy of the Home Insurance Company.

These pictures, cut out and mounted separately would make most attractive bulletin board displays and could be used to correlate American history with bird clubs or with art clubs.

HISTORIC MUSIC

The same issue of *American Heritage* in Editor William G. Tyrell's department "Seeing and Hearing History" contains a very valuable column entitled "Historic Music."

American music is reproduced in records issued by the Folkway Records and Service Corporation (117 W. 46th St., N. Y. 19). These include a re-issue of *Ballads of the American Revolution and the War of 1812*, originally made by Victor and long unavailable.

New Records, Inc. (141 E. 44th St., N. Y. 17) expects to release *Early American Psalmody* based upon the *Bay Psalm Book of 1640*. A record of *Ballads of Colonial America* contains six songs from the late seventeenth century. Other records which should be useful in illustrating American civilization are *Catholic Mission Music of California*, *Chamber Music of Colonial America* and *Instrumental Music of Colonial America*.

Miss Margaret Truman has made R.C.A. Victor recordings of American songs, popular during the early federal period. *American Part Songs*, two of William Billings' fuguing tunes sung by the Randolph Singers, also illustrate early American music.

Songsheets of confederate Civil War songs are reproduced in their original form in the supplement to Richard Barksdale Howell's monograph on *Confederate Music* (AH, Winter, 1951 p. 71) and in *Songs of the Confederacy* (N. Y.: Broadcast Music. \$3.95.).

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

Head, Department of Social Studies, Abraham Lincoln High School, Philadelphia

The Growth of Western Civilization. By Albert Hyman and Preston Slosson. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951. Pp. xxiii, 880. Fourth Edition.

This is the latest edition of one of the more widely used textbooks in college survey courses in the History of Western Civilization. This revision is evidence that the authors recognized a need to adapt their textbook to new concepts which had been accepted by teachers in the field; at the same time it indicates the continued usefulness of a textbook of this type as against those which stress the study of selected source materials or the problem approach. The basic purpose of the book remains unchanged—"it is based on the conviction that the surest approach to an understanding of contemporary civilization is a knowledge of its origins and its continuous development throughout the past." However, in this revision the authors have placed greater emphasis upon recent trends in European history and upon the increasing role of the United States in the development of Western Civilization. This book, as the earlier editions, contains a concise account of political developments but, in addition, presents an enlarged treatment of institutional growths and cultural accomplishments. A complete index, up-to-date bibliographies, carefully chosen illustrations, accurate and newly drawn maps, handy chronological charts provide needed helps for the beginning student. The textbook should continue to hold its old friends among teachers and students and will undoubtedly win many new ones.

MAHLON H. HELLERICH

Maryland State Teachers College
Towson, Maryland

Life in America. By Marshall B. Davidson. Boston, Massachusetts: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951. Two volumes. \$20.00.

In his foreword to these magnificent volumes, Francis Henry Taylor, Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, notes that: "As communications and aviation have

caused the world to shrink in equal ratio the areas of the inquiring mind have tended to expand. The thirst for knowledge, vivid and detailed, has thus brought about a new type of scholarship which gives authority to pictorial representation as a substitute for masses of printed words. The selection and interpretation of these pictures is a new art and constitutes a visual-literary form as revolutionary in our time as was the novel in the eighteenth century or the short story in the nineteenth.

"... It is in this spirit that the editors of Houghton Mifflin approached the Metropolitan Museum of Art five years ago. They wished to produce a picture of American life as a whole—a picture composed of many pictures—which would glow with the sombre integrity of an Eakins and ring with the joyousness of Whitman."

This, then, was the task which Mr. Davidson undertook. And in these two volumes, telling the story of the American Adventure from the medieval dream of a western paradise to the complex society of today in more than 1200 pictures and a quarter of a million words, we have the fulfillment of that task.

This story of American life is grouped around nine major topics or divisions: Colonial America, East Goes West, Square Rigger Empire, Agriculture, Industrial America, America at Leisure, the Urban World, Roads to Union and the Democratic Mold.

It is inevitable that each reader of such a work as this will look for material in his area of first interest. People interested in sports and recreation will look for a continuing thread of attention to the recreational interests of Americans; some will check the notes to sense the author-editor's scholarship in the field of American illustration. Others will be most concerned with the physical product—the accuracy of reproduction, the quality of paper, the typography. Those who have proficiency in the content will search for old favorites or for illustrations not familiar to them. All of them, it seems to this reviewer, must be amazed at the quality

of the selection, the scholarly editing, the beauty of format.

The high school social studies teacher, especially the teacher of American history, must look at these two volumes in another light. Conscious of the increasing and valid criticism of the quality of instruction in American history and aware of the dislike and indifference with which large numbers of our boys and girls regard the study of their nation's past, these teachers might well ask of Mr. Davidson's volumes: Will they help to motivate my teaching? Will they arouse student interest and lead to more genuine understanding? Are they worth their high cost as a classroom library tool?

In each case this reviewer believes the answer is "yes." It would be wonderful if every classroom in which American history is taught, from the seventh through the twelfth grade, could have at least one set of these books. That is, presumably impossible. At the very least, however, every school library should have a set. The volumes will, I am sure, need to be rebound every summer. That is as it should be.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

State University of New York
Cortland, New York

Comments and Cases On Human Relations. By F. K. Berrien. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951. Pp. 500. \$4.50.

Those teachers of social studies who have been questioning the traditional stereotypes of instructional procedure should begin the reading of this book with the *Appendix*. To this reviewer, the *Instructor's Appendix* is the most interesting as well as the most controversial part of the text. Teachers of social studies who hope to compete with extra-curricular programs in the formation of conduct attitudes will find suggestions for experimentation in this appendix.

Since most of the problems of our times demand for solution effective techniques for improving human relations, the content of the volume proper is of interest to the general public as well as to teachers. The text—as is indicated by its title—contains two main parts: (1) Comments on human relations, and (2) Cases on human relations.

The "Comments" contain a theoretical discussion of psychological and sociological aspects of human relations. The emphasis is on a clinical approach as contrasted with the analytical procedure usually advocated by the scientist. The author makes extensive use of the theories which have been proposed by *Gestalt* psychologists. The writings of Kurt Lewin and his students seem to furnish much of the basic social theory of the comments.

Part II of the text presents about thirty cases of disturbances in inter-personal relations. These sketches are supposed to be used in class discussions which might illustrate the theories presented in Part I. Most of this material is superfluous padding. It should not be necessary to elaborate in print material which is part of the daily experience of all of us.

JOHN W. CARR, JR.

Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Understanding Economics. By William C. Bagley, Jr. and Richard M. Perdue. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951. Pp. viii, 535. \$3.28.

Our students can expect to have a greater voice in shaping their economic life than had any earlier youth. Their views will be reflected in their choices as consumers and producers, as union members, investors, and voters. In making their choices, will they recognize their *enlightened self-interest*? Or will they follow the leader? *Understanding Economics* aims to give our high school students experiences in thinking, acting, and choosing in their economic world.

There is material here within the capacities of most students as, for example, the chapters on consumer problems, business firms, and labor organizations. Some of the content is difficult but will stimulate the more gifted youths who are capable of both sustained attention to details and abstract thinking. This would apply to some aspects of money, international trade, and the problem of synchronizing saving with investment.

Each chapter has an excellent summary, review of new terms, questions on the text, references (with an indication of readability), and ways to translate knowledge into action. The last mentioned activities provide for

committee work, community surveys, collecting of pictures, and other devices that will engage pupils of a wide range of abilities and interests. It is to be hoped that no class will be asked to "cover" the whole verbal text at the expense of these concrete activities.

There is, of course, the other danger of skimping on the basic facts and principles. These give unity and meaning to experiences. They offset the risk that the students will draw superficial conclusions from partial evidence. As the authors say, "The world has always been full of people who are happy to answer questions on matters they do not understand."

Bagley and Perdew consider the structure of our economic system and some of its principles and problems. They place a Keynesian emphasis on the flow of national income. Depressions are attributed to the failure to convert savings into productive goods. Responsibility is placed on the government to preserve the system of free enterprise by well-timed deficit financing and surplus taxation. The authors attack the tying up of money with gold as an historical accident and a mistaken policy. They stress, accordingly, the use of bank deposits for currency. They do not make sufficiently clear, however, that their own positions are still at the controversial level.

The writers of this textbook have made an effort to be readable. The length of sentences and paragraphs is kept within bounds. In view of the technical economics vocabulary that must be digested, it is well to limit the remainder to the more common words. Here, occasionally, the book slips. Poor readers will have difficulty with *phenomenon*, *aggregate*, *deterrent*, and *catastrophe* for which familiar substitutes exist.

Teachers will provide more continuous motivation if they use the illustrated personal problems which are found at some of the chapter endings to *initiate* the topics. Students want to know *in advance*, "What's the good of it?"

SAMUEL M. BRODSKY

Abraham Lincoln High School
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

An Evaluation of the Culture Unit Method for Social Education. By Wanda Robertson. New York: Bureau of Publication, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950. Pp. xiv, 142. \$2.50.

In one of the best books of 1946, *Changing*

the Curriculum (New York: Appleton-Century), Dr. Alice Miel calls attention to the difficulty of persuading teachers to change once crystallization of the curriculum has set in. When methods that once had a reason for being and which held within themselves special opportunities for the discovery of individual capacities and for enrichment in general have become standardized, patterned, and stereotyped this danger, for those having eyes to see, is painfully evident. The social studies area in the elementary school is particularly susceptible to this attenuating and attrition.

Dr. Miel, in an introduction to *An Evaluation of the Culture Unit Method* suggests that "for too many years now curriculum development in the area of social education in the elementary school has been at a virtual standstill." (p. v.) Those schools that have managed to move beyond the teaching of history and geography as isolated, textbook-centered subjects have for the most part come to rest only on another rung of the ladder. One aspect of such fixation has focused on an almost standardized set of units dealing with "Indians," "Vikings," "Eskimos," etc. Originally designed, it was felt, as the "developmental study of cultures" for the purpose of developing social understanding in children it may well be that such an organization has now outlived its usefulness.

It is the aim of Dr. Wanda Robertson in this new Teachers' College monograph to examine the validity of the suggestion that the use of the "culture unit" approach in elementary education fails in almost every way to achieve its purpose. Indeed, her thesis is that it falls short of developing either real learning about cultures of various parts of the world or is useful in the creation of the generalized social attitudes without which it is difficult to see how children can be brought from infancy to adulthood and prepared to become responsible participating citizens.

While *An Evaluation of the Culture Unit Method for Social Education* does not propose a positive and complete program to replace the criticized culture unit, a good deal of philosophy, much from the area of social anthropology, is adduced as reason for believing in the inefficiency of the old technique. Dr. Robertson likewise offers hints and direction for a newer approach to the problem of devel-

oping future citizens "who possess the social understandings and skills needed to cope with the grave problems facing mankind."

Five sections, "Education for Citizenship," "Trends in Foreign Culture Studies," "Developing Social Concepts," "Developing Social Attitudes," and "Meeting Children's Interests and Needs" indicate the scope and method of the book. Drawing upon the works of Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Hortense Powdermaker, Robert MacIver, Robert Lynd, Bronislaw Malinowski and psychologists James and Jersild, Miss Robertson cites enough logical improbabilities and psychological impossibilities to render the culture unit method, if not defunct, at least gravely suspect.

This reviewer commends the approach through social and educational anthropology and psychology but would prefer a more direct attack on the question of the demerits of the culture unit technique. If Miss Robertson is either a teacher or in the process of becoming one it might be appropriate for her to collect data from her own experience or, better yet, to conduct an experiment or two of her own. Indeed, while her book is convincing as it stands it also exudes an aura of the library and study table and, while this certainly is commendable, it does not completely satisfy.

Another criticism, probably picayunish, is that the volume is equipped with neither a general bibliography nor index. If her book is to be studied, as must be the hope of its author, this is a lack which may prove to be expensive of reading time.

Nevertheless, in a conclusion or "General Appraisal" Dr. Robertson offers a summation from which we would not retreat. It is truly pertinent to our contemporary world predicament. "There is an abundance of evidence that children are not being helped through the culture unit method to study cultures. . . . Many units are based upon a sentimental approach . . . often to the point of condescension. Emphasis is too often placed on the cherry blossoms of Japan and the igloos of the Eskimos at the expense of developing a realistic understanding of life as it is actually lived. . . . When it is recognized that children learn best how to solve problems of social life by actual participation, it also becomes evident that faraway studies of Vikings or cavemen contribute little. . . . (Our

necessity is) to develop world citizens who could and would cope intelligently with the grave problems facing mankind today." (pp. 140-142).

KENNETH V. LOTTICK

Willamette University
Salem, Oregon

American Government Today. By Ernest B. Fincher, John H. Ferguson, and Dean E. McHenry. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951. Pp. viii, 583. \$5.00.

Professors Ferguson and McHenry are co-authors of successful textbooks in American Government for college students. Now they have collaborated with Professor Fincher of New Jersey State Teachers College in a text for high-school classes. The collaboration is a happy one; and the publishers have been helpful by producing a most attractive volume.

All in all, *American Government Today* is one of the most satisfactory texts in this important subject for high-school students. It should serve to introduce them to their own government—its institutions, practices, and underlying principles—in a sane, interesting, and realistic way. Compared with Magruder's standard text in the same field, it is briefer, contains less information, and is somewhat more advanced in approach; but it is a more integrated and penetrating treatment, weighs pros and cons of controversial issues more carefully, and it avoids the banalities which Magruder has felt obliged to include because of the criticisms of irresponsible witch-hunters of the press and radio.

The approach of this text may be called a functional one. The machinery of government is described adequately, but often in connection with the major problems with which the government is faced. Instead of separate chapters on state and local government—the conventional approach in most textbooks, including the college texts of Ferguson and McHenry—the activities and functions of various levels of government with respect to particular problems are considered together. In a chapter entitled "The Biggest Business in the World" the authors manage to cover the work of the Post Office Department; various transportation agencies; public electric power, with emphasis on the TVA; federal, state, and local business

enterprises, civil service commissions and recruitment procedures, and taxes, with due attention to the Treasury Department and the Bureau of the Budget. This more integrated approach has much to commend it, although it may be rather difficult for high school students. Ferguson and McHenry might be well advised to adopt this approach in their college texts, and be more conventional in this respect when writing for less mature students.

The difficulties of covering so much ground in such a brief space are well illustrated in this book. Some of the sentences are lifted with few if any changes in phraseology, from *Elements of National Government*, by Ferguson and McHenry, and they stand out too starkly when separated from their supporting material. As the authors would doubtless be the first to admit, many of their statements cry aloud for amplification and reservation. It is, for example, both naive and misleading to assert that "The Charter of the United Nations . . . was an answer to the request for world government" (p. 234), or that "To replace the policy of isolation, the nation has adopted a policy of collective security" (p. 524). Statements such as these have some theoretical validity, and they may be useful in indicating trends and possibilities; but they are sadly out of tune with present day realities.

Among the outstanding features of this excellent new text are the use of school experiences to introduce the student to problems of government, helpful questions at the end of each chapter, and many charts, cartoons, and pictorial illustrations.

NORMAN D. PALMER

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

One Boy's Day; A Specimen Record of Behavior. By Roger G. Barker and Herbert F. Wright. New York: Harper Brothers, 1951, Pp. x, 435. \$3.50.

This 435-page book is devoted to a record of the behavior of one seven year old boy, Raymond Birch, throughout one complete day. A group of eight observers watched the boy's behavior and translated it into words. These observers were all experienced workers who

were well known and accepted by the children of the first and second grades. Raymond's parents and other members of the community understood the purpose of the observation and were willing to cooperate with the recorders.

The day selected was April 29, 1949. The community is a town of 725 people, a county seat in the central part of the U. S. Farming is the chief occupation of the area. Government work, personal and professional services and distribution and repair of goods occupy most of the workers in the town proper.

Raymond, the youngest among fifteen second graders, is an only child. His father works in a hardware company where he is responsible both for selling and installing appliances. His mother works in the county clerk's office. The only other member of the family is Honey, a fox terrier.

The first observer arrived at the Birch home just before 7 A.M. while Raymond was still asleep. She went in while Mrs. Birch awakened her son. From this moment on there is a complete record of all the boy's actions, conversations and the various situations at school and at home in which he participates. The passage of time is shown at the left hand side of the written record. For example—

7:03 He pulled on his right sock

He picked up his left tennis shoe and put it on

He laced his left shoe with slow deliberation . . .

7:04 He put on his right shoe

This book presents a field study in psychological ecology. The reader sees how the home, school and community influence an individual. There is no attempt to draw conclusions or suggestions from the data recorded. There is, however, some interpretation of Raymond's behavior or of its probable meaning by the observers. Raymond was not chosen because of any particular problem or problems. He seems an average youngster who pursues a rather ordinary routine of activities. This is exactly what the observers wanted, a scientific documentation of one boy's day. As such this volume has interest for teachers, psychologists, and others interested in child development.

MARIAN RAYBURN BROWN

Cortland, New York

HELPFUL CLASSROOM AIDS

GENERAL

The Journal of Negro Education, Volume XX, Summer of 1951, presents a comprehensive study of "The American Negro in 1950." Copies may be obtained by writing to Howard University Press, Howard University, Washington 1, D. C.

The Metropolitan School Study Council has now presented a very interesting and practical pamphlet entitled, "Making the Core Work." This pamphlet was written by a group of teachers experimenting with core curricula in the Elizabeth, New Jersey, Junior High Schools. Write to Metropolitan School Study Council, 525 West 120th Street, New York 27, New York.

ARTICLES

"Be Tactful," by Walter E. Myer. *The American Observer*, Volume XXI, Number 12. December 3, 1951.

"United States Foreign Policy" *Current History*, November, 1951.

Entire issue is devoted to foreign policy. Articles are all written by experts in their field.

"Bayard Taylor Campaigns for Lincoln," by Guy A. Cardwell, *Pennsylvania History*, Volume XVIII, Number 4, October 1951.

"I Like Teaching," by Eleanor Metheny, *N.E.A. Journal*, Volume 40, Number 9, December 1951.

PAMPHLETS

Ex America, by Garet Garrett. The Caxton Printers, Limited, Caldwell, Idaho. Price, 75 cents.

A very fine reference pamphlet for use in Economics classes.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Intergroup Relations in Teacher Education. Lloyd Allen Cook, Director. Washington, D. C. American Council on Education, 1951. Pp. x, 271. \$3.75.

The Rise and Fall of Civilization. By Shepard B. Clough. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Incorporated, 1951. Pp. vii, 281. \$4.50.

Manpower Resources and Utilization. By A. J. Jaffe and Charles D. Stewart. New York:

John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated, Pp. xx, 532. \$6.50.

An extensive and worthwhile study of the United States labor force.

Marriage Education and Counselling. Edited by Alphonse H. Clemens. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1951. Pp. 153. \$2.50.

Woman at Work: The Autobiography of Mary Anderson as told to Mary Winslow. Minneapolis, Minnesota: The University of Minnesota Press, 1951. Pp. xxix, 226. \$3.50.

Excellent collateral reading for sociology classes.

Way to Improve Your Personality. By Virginia Bailard and Ruth Strang. New York: The McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951. Pp. xii, 249. \$2.40.

Congress: Its Contemporary Role. By Ernest S. Griffith. New York: New York University Press, 1951. Pp. xv, 193. \$3.50.

Due Process of Law, 1932-1949. By Virginia Wood. Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1951. Pp. vi, 436. \$6.00.

This book tells the story of the Court's interpretation and application of the due process clauses of the Federal Constitution.

A History of China. By W. E. Soothill. New York: Contemporary Books, 1951. Pp. xiv, 127. \$1.50.

Industrial Relations and the Social Order. By Wilbert E. Moore. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951. Pp. xxv, 660. \$3.50. Revised Edition.

A college text in industrial sociology.

The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution. By Harold R. Isaacs. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1951. Pp. 382. \$5.00. \$5.00.

This book contains a clear analysis of the Russian domination of Chinese leaders.

Russia: An Outline History. By Walther Kirchner. New York: Barnes and Noble Incorporated, 1951. Pp. 1, 329. \$2.50.

Soviet Attitudes Toward Authority. By Margaret Mead. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Incorporated, 1951. Pp. vii, 148. \$4.00.

A survey on different levels of the nature of Soviet leadership today.

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